

**The University of Sydney**  
**Faculty of Education and Social Work**

**Gender knowledge in journalism education and practice.**  
**A study in Chile**

**Claudia Lucia Alarcón Espinoza**

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## **Abstract**

This research explores the production and circulation of gender knowledge, to understand the development of journalism education and also the structure of relations of gender that currently create and sustain journalism education in Chile.

The study examines the production of gender knowledge within a social structure, exploring the complexity of the system and the dynamics between higher education, journalism education and the production of gender knowledge. The methodology used in the study is mixed methods and uses four techniques of data collection: semi-structured interviews, participant observation, content analysis and documentary research.

Four organisations of mass media and four universities were observed. Curricula from 1982 to 2012 were examined from the four universities selected and a total of 13 course structures, with a total of 222 units of study, were reviewed. Thirty-two people were interviewed who had experience in teaching journalism education, were journalists or were key informants of mass media organizations.

The multilevel analysis in the study allowed an approach that went beyond the study of the production of gender knowledge as an isolated phenomenon within journalism education.

The study concludes that there is a dislocation of theoretical and disciplinary knowledge and a systemic marginalisation of gender knowledge within journalism education. The historical analysis shows that this lack is longstanding.

The absence of gender knowledge appears as a first result of the curricular analysis and in the teaching practice. The absence emerges as the structure that organises practices and relations of gender, which generates a specific gender order that involves specific power relations. In the case of the production of knowledge in journalism education, results suggest that masculinity works as a hegemonic power that makes gender knowledge appear as a system of absence. The thesis proposes that the absence of gender knowledge can be understood as a feature of hegemonic power that paradoxically appears as the hegemonic voice that generates a gender meaning

system within universities. Thus, there is not an absence of gender within the curriculum. What is found is that there is a hegemonic presence of masculinity.

The curriculum of each university shows the gender regime of each institution. Institutions operate in a gendered context that involves every practice and decision that people take, including the selection of content. In the case of journalism education, the gender regime appears highly masculinised. What is found within the curricula is a gendered imbalance of capacity to generate knowledge.

The study concludes that the production of knowledge, and especially the production of gender knowledge, is an intellectual activity that involves the complexity of the structure of the university that includes division of labour, gender relations of power, emotions and human relations and gendered culture and symbolism. The role of emotions is a key element in the production as well as the resistance towards gender knowledge and gender itself.

# Table of Contents

<b>Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>PART I: CONTEXT .....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Chapter 1: Relevant Background Literature.....</b>	<b>5</b>
Introduction .....	5
Higher education and journalism education .....	5
Journalism education in Latin America.....	8
Chilean case .....	10
Gender and journalism education.....	11
Gender and journalism education in Latin America.....	14
The Chilean case .....	15
Conclusion.....	17
Definition of key terms used in the thesis.....	18
<b>Chapter 2: Methodology and Research Method .....</b>	<b>21</b>
Introduction .....	21
Methodology.....	21
Methods used.....	22
Life history research .....	22
Content analysis.....	24
Historical analysis.....	25
Study design .....	26
Sampling: from individuals to institutions and back to individuals .....	26
Contacting interviewees.....	29
Data analysis .....	31
Ethics .....	36
<b>PART II: FINDINGS .....</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>Chapter 3: Journalism Education in Chile.....</b>	<b>37</b>
Introduction .....	37
Gender in the history of mass media in Chile.....	37
Golden years.....	37
From depression to 1970 .....	39
Coup and mass media .....	42
Neoliberal era .....	47
Gender in the history of journalism education in Chile.....	51
1956 - 1970. The beginnings of professionalisation and the beginning of institutional breakdown .....	51
1970-1986: Interruption of democracy.....	57
1986 - 2006: Re-professionalisation and modernisation .....	62
2006-2013: The intensification .....	72
General structure of curricula of journalism education.....	74
Conclusion.....	76
<b>Chapter 4: Mapping Gender in the Curriculum.....</b>	<b>80</b>
Introduction .....	80
Diego Portales University .....	81
The Beginning.....	81
Admission criteria and prices .....	81
Teaching staff characteristics.....	84
Annexed institutions and initiatives .....	85
Mapping the curriculum: Course overview.....	87
Curricular changes .....	91
Andrés Bello University.....	96
The beginning.....	96
Admission criteria and prices .....	97

Teaching staff characteristics .....	100
Mapping the curricula: Course overview .....	101
Curricular changes .....	103
University of Santiago .....	109
The Beginning.....	109
Admission criteria and prices .....	110
Annexed institutions and initiatives .....	113
Mapping the curriculum: Course overview .....	114
Curricular changes .....	118
University of Chile.....	120
The Beginning.....	120
Admission criteria and prices .....	121
Teaching staff characteristics.....	124
Annexed institutions and initiatives .....	126
Mapping the curriculum: Course overview .....	126
Curricular changes .....	130
Conclusion.....	136
<b>Chapter 5: Teachers’ and Journalists’ Experiences .....</b>	<b>138</b>
Introduction .....	138
Peter.....	138
Life trajectory .....	139
Industry experience.....	142
Teaching experience.....	143
Gender.....	148
University, curriculum and industrial relations.....	149
Conclusion.....	151
Pedro and Clara.....	153
Life trajectory .....	154
Teaching experience.....	156
Industrial experience .....	158
Gender.....	162
University, curriculum and industrial relations.....	165
Conclusion.....	166
Tomas.....	167
Life Trajectory .....	168
Industrial experience .....	169
Gender.....	171
University, curriculum and industrial relations.....	173
Conclusion.....	174
Emmanuel .....	175
Life trajectory .....	176
Industrial experience .....	177
Experience as a Teacher .....	179
Gender.....	180
University, curriculum and industrial relations.....	182
Conclusion.....	184
Maria.....	185
Life trajectory .....	187
Industrial experience .....	189
Experience as a teacher.....	190
Gender.....	193
University, curriculum and industrial relations.....	195
Conclusion.....	196
Anna.....	197
Life trajectory .....	198
Teaching experience.....	200
Industrial experience .....	204
Gender.....	205
University curriculum and industrial relations.....	207

Conclusion.....	208
<b>PART III: ANALYSIS .....</b>	<b>211</b>
<b>Chapter 6: Gender Knowledge Production in Journalism Education.....</b>	<b>211</b>
Introduction .....	211
Gender and curriculum.....	223
Resistances toward gender .....	236
Mapping relationships between journalism education and mass media industry	246
Exchange of specialist skills.....	255
Limitations .....	257
<b>Chapter 7: Conclusions .....</b>	<b>258</b>
<b>References.....</b>	<b>273</b>
<b>Appendices.....</b>	<b>290</b>



# Introduction

The central aim of this study is to analyse the production and circulation of gender knowledge in journalism education in Chile, and to explore its connection with media corporations. According to Araujo (2006), issues of gender equality have been identified as one of the key areas requiring innovation and reform over the last few decades within the Chilean higher education system. However, the relationship between media, higher education and gender has largely been neglected as a topic of analysis.

Both academia and public opinion offer criticisms of journalism and journalism training in Chile, due to a perceived poor generation of knowledge and poor mass media treatment of information. Criticism of the Chilean media includes a focus on widespread sensationalism, a lack of respect for the dignity of people, and gender stereotyping (Oyanedel & Alarcón, 2010).

Tertiary social communication faculties attempt to produce graduates who are technically capable and able to fulfil a mission of democratising information and responding to social demands (Villalobos, Montiel, Muñoz and Celedón, 2005). Higher education has been defined as one of the most important institutions responsible for rethinking and redefining reality and improving the practice of journalism (Reese, 1999). The main premise of the international study of journalism education has been the conviction that, if the quality of journalism education improves, then the quality of journalism will also improve (Josephi, 2009).

These criticisms and aspirations, however, fail to take into account that there is a production of gender knowledge and that production of knowledge in journalism occurs within a gendered social structure, and as part of the development of institutional dynamics within the State, the tertiary education system and the communication industry.

The study of the Chilean case is an opportunity to approach the above analytical complexities in a real and dynamic example. The modern history of political and social conflict in Chile provides a powerful backdrop to an analysis of higher education. Political and economic developments in Chile have arguably magnified

the key issues and tensions evident in journalism and especially in journalism education.

The influence of the mass media in Chile has been a subject of debate for the last 30 years. The specific discussion of the relationship between television, press media and gender began in Chile with the transition to democracy and after Chile endorsed, in 1989, the *1979 UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women* (CEDAW). This reflected the new coalition's commitment to advancing women's rights (Valdés 2013).

Arguably, of the array of aspects included in the Convention, the role of mass media in the reproduction of sexual and reproductive rights has been one of the most difficult to address.

Chilean education after the 1990s demonstrated at least four important changes regarding journalism as an academic field. Firstly, there was a dramatic increase in private universities, which resulted in a large increase in journalism schools and a consequent increase in journalism career programs. Secondly, new curricular trends emerged. Thirdly, a new social order emerged that has shaped relationships among all the institutions involved in the production and circulation of knowledge in the education and mass media industry. And finally, there has been an explicit intention by the state to incorporate gender within its policies, which has had a flow-on impact on public universities.

However, chronological facts of journalism education are not enough to comprehend the complexity of journalism as a discipline and the development of gender knowledge within journalism education. Practice and theory develop and change in specific moments of history. When the order of the social structure changes, the order of production, the circulation of information and the transmission of knowledge also change (Connell, 2012).

As the literature review shows, journalism and journalism education mostly rely on a dichotomous conception of gender that may be biological or cultural, but is always based on a notion of difference. This study proposes another approach, using a relational theory of gender that “understand[s] gender as a multidimensional

structure operating in a complex network of institutions embracing at the same time economic relations, power relations, affective relations and symbolic relations; and operating simultaneously at intrapersonal, interpersonal, institutional and society-wide levels” (Connell, 2012, p. 1677).

This study is built on empirical research that examines university curricula (explicit and hidden), pedagogical practices, university culture, historical and statistical data. It seeks to analyse the main trends and orientations that students, teachers and workers have had in their experiences of the production of knowledge and its circulation, giving special attention to the connection between journalism training and practice. It is an attempt to fill an identifiable gap in knowledge regarding the relationship between higher education, gender and mass media.

This project will be presented in three parts divided into six Chapters:

#### Part I: Context:

Chapter 1: The relevant background literature discusses the essential concepts of the present research and analyses Latin American and Chilean research.

Chapter 2: Explains the methodology used in the study.

#### Part II: Findings:

Chapter 3: Gives an overview of the mass media context in which journalism education has developed and provides a critical analysis of the development of journalism education and its structure.

Chapter 4: Presents four university case studies. The curricula and the structure of programs of journalism education are studied, examining changes over time, how gender circulates, and how masculine hegemony is embedded in the way knowledge is constructed and promoted.

Chapter 5: Six life histories, selected from 35 interviews, are presented in detail, with a focus on gender practices. The six chosen life histories saturated the types of issues raised during the interviews. The chosen case studies look at the

multidimensional structure of gender dynamics and their interaction with the development of journalism education.

### Part III: Analysis and conclusions

Chapter 6: Collects and intertwines the analyses of life histories, curricular and historical data to generate a second level of analysis. This section also draws on data collected from newspaper archives, especially data related to the history of journalism. Theoretical and methodological insights of the study are presented.

# **PART I: CONTEXT**

## **Chapter 1: Relevant Background Literature**

### **Introduction**

This Chapter discusses the core concept of the present research. It is argued that, although gender in journalism education has been addressed by a feminist agenda over many years, empirical research about gender knowledge within journalism education is still marginal and in the case of Chile this situation is amplified.

The following discussion also challenges the traditional conception of gender, which tends to discuss gender from a dichotomous category, using sex differences as a referent in the argument.

### **Higher education and journalism education**

Since the rise of professional journalism and the development of journalism education in the higher education system, one of the dominant discussions in the literature has been the debate about whether journalism education should underpin the practice of journalism by training skilled practitioners or whether journalism education should teach wider disciplines. This debate has also been identified as one of vocational education versus disciplinary education (Reese & Cohen, 2000; Deuze, 2001; Gasher, 2005; Cushion, 2007; Frith & Meech, 2007).

As Reese pointed out in 1999, journalism education needs to embrace academia and stop creating what he called ‘the false dichotomy’. He argued that there is a tendency in academic debate to divide journalism education between practical and theoretical aspects. Reese also argued that this type of approach was inadequate to address journalism education because of its interdisciplinary nature. Other authors, such as Deuze (2001), insisted on the need to overcome this debate. Deuze claims that journalism education programs should carefully reconsider the dominant paradigm of ‘theory versus practice’. Reese (1999) argues for the need to abandon this dichotomy “in favour of a general program and awareness of the most crucial changes in society, economy and technology” (Deuze, 2001, p. 15) as a part of a democratisation process.

Explicit in Deuze's argument is the idea that journalism education should be understood as a part of the process of State democratisation. However the discussion about "gender politics" (Connell, 2009) and gender in general as part of a process of democratisation is pushed aside.

Since the mid-1980s, when journalism education increased in popularity and the mass media became more important (Obijiofor and Hanusch, 2011), the debate in the academic world around journalism education and higher education has focused on four key points of criticism. Firstly, that there is a poor generation of knowledge within Chilean universities, reflected in a lack of research into journalism education (Mellado & Del Valle, 2008; Mellado, 2010). Secondly, that there is a deep depoliticising of the career of journalism so that little critical knowledge is produced (Deuze, 2006; Cushion, 2007). Thirdly, whether or not teaching models of journalism education should respond (Karan, 2001; Josephi, 2009) or not (Gasher, 2005) to labour market demands. And finally, that there is a lack of journalism inputs to serve democratic objectives (Megwa, 2001; Jones, 2009).

The above criticisms, although important, fail to adequately take into account a) journalism education as a part of a social structure and specifically as part of a higher educational system; b) the tendency to explain journalism education is based on a cross-cultural studies framework; c) The need for generating more studies in relation to journalism education and knowledge transfer. I will discuss each of these questions in turn.

a) Academic discussion of journalism education as a discipline is often limited to looking within journalism education. Delano (2001) provides significant historical observations and identifies the level of education and training, income, status and lifestyle, gender and racial distribution of journalists. However, the author does not situate journalism as part of the tertiary education system. He focuses on the background and experience of journalists but he does not discuss the structure, culture and curriculum of journalism.

Bierhoff, Deuze, and De Vreese (2000) compare the professional and educational situations in five European countries. Their work goes into detail, comparing and contrasting the situations in Austria, Denmark, The Netherlands, Sweden and

Switzerland. It offers valuable insights into the way journalism training works. The study looks specifically at European countries and concentrates on their systems of journalism education, with the same emphases on digitalisation and multimedia. The authors do not set the discussion of journalism training in a wider context than the needs of the media industry. The authors recognise that there is a specific development of journalism education in each country that is different to the development of the global industry. They argue that mass media and journalism education develop in different rhythms and times.

The authors' generalisations overlook journalism education in developing countries and the needs of journalism development in such contexts. The authors do not consider the differences in social structures where journalism education and the mass media industry have developed, but only analyse journalism education itself.

Most of the arguments of this research suggest that journalism education has to be rethought, based on the new challenges of globalisation. Although this seems an obvious idea, from my point of view, this is a strategic and political proposal.

b) During the last decade, there has been a tendency to study journalism education using cross-cultural studies; treating journalism education as a global phenomenon. Deuze (2006) attempts to identify the key debates that journalism education programs face around the world. The main conclusion is that journalism education needs to engage in an internal dialogue, as well as with the industry, as to how to engage students in a meaningful reflection on how journalism is accomplished.

Another example of generalisation is the research by Cushion (2007). Cushion's research analysed the range and nature of journalism courses across the globe. He used a table of journalism undergraduate courses, given by Hanna and Sanders, 2007, which looked at 35 countries, none of which was from Latin America or South America.

Cross-cultural study is useful if journalism education is considered generally to be an autonomous field of study. However, cross-cultural research abstracts from social and historical context, and can thus exacerbate the problem already noted, of

studying journalism education outside the context of the production of knowledge and cultural dynamics.

c) O'Donnell is one of the few academics to explore the transfer of knowledge. O'Donnell (2006) shows the need to produce a deeper comprehension of the dynamic relationship between the university system and the mass media industry. She notes that there is a trend in the literature "to documenting the overall size and demographic profile of journalistic workforces rather than to the in-depth study of professional education issues" (O'Donnell, 2006, p. 35). She agrees that there is a need to incorporate a more systemic explanation within journalism education without overlooking the key stakeholders in the process. O'Donnell's analysis is based on empirical research of students, adding a new understanding to the analysis of the impact of professional education. She notes that there are three aspects that overcome the idea of status quo in the transference of knowledge. Firstly, she validates the particularities of the experience of each journalism student and the multiple ways one may become a journalist. Secondly, there are innovative educational initiatives that intend to not reproduce the same conventional dynamics between the industry and the university. Thirdly, journalism graduates may "act strategically when faced with the various employment and editorial opportunities that arise in the news media's "issues" (O'Donnell, 2006, p. 35).

This is important research bringing new understanding of the relations between the industry and the university, beyond the mere understanding of it as a reproduction system. The challenge that is presented, according to this research, is to integrate a multilevel analysis of the production and circulation of knowledge. The complexity of the issues raised can best be approached using a mixed method and multilevel analysis.

## **Journalism education in Latin America**

Even though journalism has existed in Latin America in tertiary education since the mid-1930s, it was not until the work of Roveda (2007) that historical research appeared that registered in detail the variety, dynamics and impacts of the field's evolution. Scholars in some Latin American countries, such as Argentina and Colombia, have developed a framework to analyse the place of journalism



education within the social structure and its interaction with the production system and ideologies. Martín-Barbero (1982) was one of the first, making a critical analysis of the role that the schools of journalism and communication play in the production of mass culture. Martín-Barbero's work is remarkable because he generated a cultural and educational critique of journalism studies. He explored the consumption of mass media at a time when most researchers in Latin America were focusing on mass media in terms of "ideologies of domination" (Martín-Barbero, 1987). This was a theoretical inflexion as well as a change of empirical focus, understanding mass media messages as a process of consumption as well as an ideological structure. This significant contribution helps us to understand not only the changes in journalism education as a discipline but also how the educational and industry structures change. However, Martín-Barbero did not theorise or explore gender as an issue, either within tertiary education or the industry.

More recently, some research has focused on the structure of journalism education, especially its curricula and history. This type of study has been done by academics but also by institutions such as the Latin American Association of Communications Faculties (Felafacs). Some examples of these research studies are: Marques de Melo (1999) reviewed the trajectories of journalism education programs in Brazil. He emphasised the educational projects that underpin a professional education and the importance of linking the university and the industry. He concluded that universities have difficulty following the development of the industry due to the lack of professional specialisation and the homogenisation of journalism education curricula in Brazil. López, Pereira and Hernández from Ecuador (2006) analysed the curricula of mass media communication of Latin American countries. They found humanistic units integrated within most of the curricula. They also they found an effort by communication faculties to incorporate digital media within their curricula, though more curricular change was needed to overcome the difficulties presented by the digital era. In 2012, Felafacs-UNESCO launched a report describing the situation of journalism education curricula in Latin America. Like the other works, this report is a description of the current context of journalism education.

None of these studies, nor any other identifiable in existing literature databases, addresses the production and circulation of gender knowledge within journalism education in Latin America.

## **Chilean case**

Journalism education in Chile has been discussed mainly in terms of: historical analysis of the changes within journalism education (Castellón, 2006; Mellado 2009); journalism versus communication studies (Mellado, 2010); journalism education structure (González, 2003) and vocational versus professional education (Mellado & Del Valle, 2008). González (2003) provides a general view of the challenges of journalism education over the past 50 years. He identifies three key aspects that have characterised journalism education in Chile: the multiplicity of curricula; the unstable working conditions of teachers within journalism education; and the low offering of postgraduate and doctorate positions. Although his article helps to generate a picture of what has happened, González does not develop any of these points in depth.

Castellón (2006) presented a conference paper on the development of research in Chile and the training of journalists. Although her presentation is relevant in terms of showing a historical view of journalism education, it contains no empirical data.

In 2007, the Ministry of Education of Chile (MINEDUC) launched the first official report on the situation of journalists. It was the first time the government had provided an official record of the situation of the schools of journalism education, as well as the situation in terms of labour supply and demand. It was the first report on journalism education to show data divided by sex. This report identified the increasing enrolment of students, showing that the higher increase in women was sustained over time so that it was almost double that of men by 2005, with the number of female graduates at 66% and male 34%. The report also revealed the living standards of graduates, due to the oversupply of journalism graduates and the lack of employment opportunities within the media industry. Additionally, the report established the first databases for the numbers of journalism graduates; journalism affiliates to professional membership, and of research documents in this field.

Although this report has been the most important publicly available, it did not create an explanatory framework about journalism education in Chile. The lack of analysis in terms of curricular content, university policies, gender and the potential influences on journalism education, are its main weaknesses.

Recent work by Mellado (2010) deepens the findings of this official report and analyses the academic production of Latin American journalism studies in the period 1960-2007. Her study shows the irregularity of research into journalism and journalism education, and how this has limited the development of journalism studies in Latin America.

Further to the main discussion, it is worth noting the significant contribution in recent years (2010, 2012) by Mellado in terms of opening up structural aspects of journalism education to a greater discussion of the academic culture of journalism educators and students. Her main argument is that universities are not responding to current social demands, which is detrimental to the employability of students and reveals the identity issues of journalism as a profession. For her, universities have been transformed into passive observers of what is happening inside and outside of journalism.

Although the papers mentioned above make an important contribution to tracing how journalism education has been developed in Chile, there remain critical limits to available knowledge. The documents reviewed focus almost entirely on journalism education as a disciplinary discussion. To generate a deeper analysis of journalism education, it is necessary to look at the interplay of social structures; examining how their dynamics and complexities have influenced journalism education and the production of knowledge during the training of journalists and in their later work.

## **Gender and journalism education**

The influence of gender in journalism education has been the subject of international discourse over many years. Discussion in this area gained more impetus after the *UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women* (CEDAW, 1979). Much of this discussion concerns media sexism

and the representation of women in journalism. Gender is still rarely discussed as a factor in the production of knowledge and within higher education curricula (Araujo, 2006). This is despite the fact that there is agreement within the academy that gender studies represents a contemporary theoretical school that is necessary to questioning the epistemological bases of knowledge. Gender is recognised as contributing to the comprehension of diverse social, political, historical and individual phenomena, and for understanding of teaching practices as they are historically embedded within a masculinised gender order (Arnot, David & Weiner, 1999).

In general terms, the same logic of discrimination that affects women in other areas of life is found in the higher education arena (Araujo, 2006) and specifically within journalism education. Both journalists in their formation, and those who shape others, play an important role in cultural transmission. When some curriculum models are encouraged over others, this may reproduce the hierarchical system of gender divisions and classifications. North (2010) has argued that the lack of substantive gender education and attention to the gender dimension in newsroom culture in journalism education helps to maintain systemic gender inequality in the mass media industry.

For a topic that seems keenly debated in academic and political terms, attempts to comprehensively analyse journalism education and gender are surprisingly meagre. The literature review identifies a small number of articles published on gender and journalism education internationally. The limited material available addresses curricular analysis (Made, 2010; North, 2010, 2015), university structure (Glombisky, 2002; Densem, 2006), and cultural dynamics (Kelly, 1989; Lowe & Shilongo, 2004). Two recurrent themes are found in this literature:

Firstly, research has developed focusing on the situation of gender within journalism education, specifically regarding access, retention and curricula. North (2010) discusses the rise of the female journalism student in Australia and shows how gender issues are incorporated within the journalism education curricula. She observes that no journalism program in Australia offers a specific unit on gender. This study exposes the lack of formal incorporation of gender within curricula. However, the analysis of curricula remains at the level of the content of units of

study. The next step is towards a more complex notion of the curriculum as a culture, which includes the production and circulation of gender knowledge in, for example, bibliography and teaching practices.

A second theme concerns gender and professional practice, informal practice and mainstream cultures in mass media organisations or tertiary education. The studies relate particularly to the gender division of labour in one or other institutions. Hermano and Turley (2001) reveal that, even though there has been a steady rise in the percentage of news reports conducted by women, women are still underrepresented in news reporting. Goward (2006) focuses on the role of women in the newspaper industry in Australia arguing that press culture is hostile to women.

Most studies on tertiary education and gender examined gender imbalance in courses and institutions, specifically in discussing the feminisation of journalism education. Becker, Vlad, Huh and Mace (2003) found that journalism education in the United States has changed since 1989, with an increase in women as faculty members, emphasising institutional changes as causes. Densem (2006) delves into the feminisation of journalism courses in tertiary education in Australia and New Zealand. This research treats feminisation as a result of career decisions from the student's perspective. These results are also confirmed by Golombisky (2002) United States; Délano, Niklander and Susacasa (2007) Chile; and Dube (2013) South Africa, which suggest that feminisation in journalism degrees is a global phenomenon.

In 2014, Hanusch and Mellado looked at journalism students' professional views in eight countries. They hypothesised that, "students' motivations, and the amount of time they spent in a program, played a part in influencing their professional views while gender has little influence" (p. 1159). Like most of the literature under discussion, the conception of gender in this study was a simple biological dichotomy.

Although all these types of research have helped to generate discussion around gender and the situation of women in tertiary education and the mass media industry, we now need research that incorporates a relational analysis to explore

how gender knowledge is generated within the university system and how it alters journalism education and the mass media industry.

As North (2010) pointed out, it is crucial to ask what can be done to better educate young men and women studying journalism at the university level about how gender shapes news content and how the gendering process takes place in newsrooms. However, it is also crucial to understand the dynamics of gender and structure, or patterns of knowledge production about gender, within the educational field because it will help us to understand the dynamics of the gender regime.

### **Gender and journalism education in Latin America**

Feminists have addressed gender, journalism and journalism education in Latin America since the beginning of the twentieth century (see example of Chile, Chapter 2). However, as historical evidence shows, this was an unstable period politically and economically. Almost all the countries of the region experienced dictatorships that led to setbacks in culture, including setbacks for feminism. It would not be until after 1990, when most of the Latin American countries began democratisation processes, that feminist agendas began to appear more strongly. Hasan and Gil (2014) state that women's journalism networks started to appear during the 1990s, which incorporated gender perspectives into their practice, especially linked to news. According to Hasan and Gil (2014) in 1993 Ecuador was the first country where women journalists founded a women's network. Afterwards, women journalists from countries such as Mexico (1995), Guatemala (1998), Dominican Republic (2001), Nicaragua (2003), Argentina (2006), Peru (2008) and Colombia (2009) founded networks focusing on developing a non-sexist journalism. Although these institutions are not academic, they have been important in terms of creating a different type of journalism and in highlighting how the dynamics of gender are configured within it.

The production of gender knowledge seems minimal. Mellado (2010) shows that the distribution of themes in journalism studies was: 32 per cent focussed on routines and journalistic practices; 19 per cent on occupational profile and conditions of the labour market; 19 per cent on journalism education; 16 per cent on professional roles; 16 per cent on the labour conditions of journalism; 11 per cent

on social representation of journalists; nine per cent on socio-demographic journalist profiles; five per cent on journalist associative conditions; four per cent on professional orientation of journalists and three per cent on gender studies within the profession, that is “studies that make an explicit reference to the differences between men and women within the profession” (Mellado, 2010, p. 139).

### **The Chilean case**

The case of Chile is no different. As in other Latin American countries, the arrival of democracy opened an opportunity for gender studies to be incorporated within universities. According to Montecino and Rebolledo (1995), in the 1990s academics from a variety of fields did incorporate gender through units of studies, seminars, postgraduate courses, research and so on. The idea was to make gender visible as a subject and to obtain economic support from the authorities to institutionalise the subject. This effort resulted in the opening of a few centres of research in gender such as the Centro Interdisciplinario de Estudios de Género (Interdisciplinary Centre of Gender Studies) at the University of Chile.

Although there has been some development of gender as a field of study, the lack of research of gender within journalism education is remarkable. The small amount of literature on gender and journalism that does exist is focused in four areas:

a) Feminist press (Torres, 1996; Montero, 2008, 2013; Palomera & Pinto, 2006). These studies are related to press journalism specifically and trace the history of women’s publications, especially during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The main author who explored this area is Montero (2013). In her study she noted that there was a female press that emerged during the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century that had a role in supporting feminist ideology.

b) Profession and academic culture. Such research includes gender as a demographic variable within the study, using gender as a quantitative variable. However, most of the research done in this field does not analyse gender dynamics (Mellado, 2009, 2010).

Mellado, Salinas, Del Valle and González (2010), in a study about the labour market and journalist profiles, noted that 52 per cent of journalists were men and 48

per cent women. Twenty four per cent of journalists were editors, press directors or media directors. Of this number, 72 per cent were male. In terms of content production in press media and in academia there is a predominance of men at over 60 per cent. In contrast, women predominate in the same proportion but in the communication field. The distribution of sex by demographic area is very distinctive in the Chilean context. The predominance of men in some regions is almost absolute, such as in Antofagasta and Araucanía.

c) Image of women in mass media, stereotypes of gender, representation and coverage (López, 2009, Souza & Alarcón, 2008). Souza and Alarcón (2008) showed how mass media stereotypes of women are transmitted to girls between eight and ten years old. The authors found that television influences the self-image of girls. There are five types of images of women that are transmitted. One type that was presented as the ideal to be reached by girls “is presented as white, thin, determined and independent but at the same time good with children and a good mother” (p. 13).

d) Discourse of gender in mass media, with special emphasis on symbolic violence. Most of these research studies focus on revealing the construction of gender through the media (Errázuriz, 2002; Naranjo, 2009; Lagos, 2011; Salinas & Lagos 2014). Salinas and Lagos (2014) argue that the press media generate gender constructions based on discrimination and symbolic violence against women. Press media are identified as a symbolic structure that produces and reproduces symbolic violence in different ambits of coverage, such as politics, culture, sport and investigative journalism.

To look at the dimensions of media, higher education and gender, it is relevant to reflect on the journalistic horizon that Chile hopes to achieve. There are new emerging demands from the knowledge society (Mellado & Del Valle, 2008), and from the changing character of production in the worldwide economy that not only imply professional practices in a vacuum, but also imply structures and gender dynamics.



## **Conclusion**

There is a vast and consolidated amount of journalism education research, which has generated discussion about the discipline and the practice of journalism. The development of journalism as a discipline has strongly addressed the debate about the identity of the journalist. This seems to be one of the most relevant areas of discussion within journalism and journalism education. In contrast, gender seems to be marginal to the debate.

The literature review shows that gender as a field of study, internationally, has been addressed mainly as part of the concern of the treatment of gender by the industry and as explicit reference to the differences between men and women within the profession, leaving aside the discussion about journalism education and gender.

Gender in the literature is mostly treated as a dichotomous category but also is generally treated within other issues or as a demographic variable. Although these approaches help to enrich the knowledge about possible inequities between sexes, it does not help to further an understanding of gender relations and its dynamics. As Connell pointed out (2009, p. 87) “we need to treat gender as a structure in its own right. We must avoid collapsing it into others categories, treating it as the effect of some other reality.”

In Chile the debate about gender has become one of the key discussions regarding the innovations and reforms needed within the Chilean higher education system. The issue of the relationship between media, higher education and gender has been neglected. Research studies about gender have been focused on journalism/industry and gender using the division of labour and stereotypes as a main approach, leaving aside aspects such as emotional relations and symbolic expressions of gender.

As confirmed up to this point of the literature review, no single study was found that contributes to understanding the process of production of gender knowledge in journalism education and the relationship between tertiary education and the media industry in Chile. This study intends to fill this gap in existing knowledge.

This research is a step toward comprehending the complexity of Chilean journalism and journalism education. Exploring the production and circulation of gender

knowledge can assist in understanding not only the development of journalism education itself but also the structure of relations that create and sustain journalism education currently and the particular production of knowledge within the discipline.

## **Definition of key terms used in the thesis**

### **Production of knowledge**

For this study, the production of knowledge is understood as intellectual labour. Connell and Crawford (2007) recognise that in intellectual labour the tools are symbolic techniques; the objects of the tools are cultural materials and the products are converted into cultural materials.

Within this study, the production of knowledge will include:

#### a) Material production of knowledge:

- Social practice within the organisation, universities and mass media organisations
- Division of labour

#### b) Intangible production of knowledge:

- Curricular contents
- Research, articles, news
- Symbolic elements, with gender meaning, such as pictures

### **Gender**

Most of the research studies presented above are based on the notion of sex differences and understand gender as a character dichotomy. As Connell (2005, p. 61) pointed out:

This body of research, long known as “sex difference” (sometimes: “gender differences”) research, is huge. This is one of the most-researched topics [...]. There is also a large parallel literature in

sociology and political science, looking at group differences in attitudes and opinions, voting, violence and so forth.

The use of gender as dichotomy impedes the understanding of gender as having multiple dimensions, different types of relations such as affective, economic, symbolic and power relations, and multiple levels (Connell, 2006). The main limitation of research on gender as a dichotomy variable or concept is that this type of research does not analyse the different levels where gender circulates and is produced and does not analyse the different levels where the dynamics of gender happen on intrapersonal, interpersonal, institutional and society-wide levels (Connell, 2011).

The study will understand gender from the perspective of the social theory of gender relations. According to Connell (2009), gender may be defined as the way in which social praxis is organised, and this varies in space and time, within and among cultures; it is a structure of social relationships capable of institutionalising and expanding itself subjectively and socially into what is called a gender order. This order is not static, nor does it mechanically determine social praxis, because it is capable of defining opportunities or courses of action (and their implications).

In this study, gender will be analysed in terms of the four dimensions of gender proposed by Connell (2009): 1) power relations; 2) production, consumption and gendered accumulation; 3) emotional relations; and 4) symbolism, culture, and discourse.

### **Gender knowledge**

Gender knowledge will be viewed as the treatment of gender in intellectual labour. In this study, gender knowledge will be understood as any production of knowledge that is material or intangible (described above) that involves any of the four dimensions of gender (noted above).

### **Journalism**

The discussion around the nature of journalism and the role of the journalist has been long and ongoing. Nevertheless journalism is a widely recognised field

(Deuze, 2005). Around the world universities have offered undergraduate journalism degrees that are based on a consensual body of knowledge.

In this study, journalism will be understood as a profession, industry, culture, complex social system, and also, as Deuze (2005, p. 445) proposes, an ideology. In this particular framework, in his words:

In the particular context of journalism as a profession, ideology can be seen as a system of beliefs characteristic of a particular group, including – but not limited to – the general process of the production of meanings and ideas (within that group).

### **Journalism Education**

In academia there has been a discussion as to whether journalism should be considered a trade or a profession. The main distinctions between trades and professions are the levels of educational training expected from them (Joseph, 2009).

According to French (2007), journalism is a profession today because it requires a command of specific scientific knowledge that can only be obtained over a long period of tertiary study. Journalism education is considered a part of a formal educational system, especially tertiary education. In this process of education, individuals obtain theoretical and practical knowledge, which aims to provide a critical perspective in order to judge the principles, routines and actions of the profession.

Journalism education will be defined within the study as the education in journalism offered by tertiary institutions around the globe as a preparation for the practice of journalism. This education includes journalism programs and therefore the training to become a journalist, as well as the practical and theoretical knowledge gained in the field.

## **Chapter 2: Methodology and Research Method**

### **Introduction**

This Chapter discusses the methodology and research methods used in the present research. The Chapter explains how the sampling was carried out, and the techniques used in data collection, data analysis and ethics.

### **Methodology**

According to Creswell and Plano (2007) methodology is a philosophical framework and also provides the foundational assumptions on which research is developed. Both the philosophical framework and foundational assumptions impact on the scope and limits of the methods adopted.

This thesis adopts mixed methods research, which is a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, approaches and concepts in a single study (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). During the 1990s, mixed methods research increased in the social sciences and in particular, in education (Pereira, 2011). It provides the opportunity to confront, contrast and compare different types of data with the same objective, which contributes to validating the findings that derive from a study. Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998) regard mixed methods as improving a study due to the multiplicity of approaches, thus reducing the weakness or limitation of any single method used. The combination of more than one approach also helps to reduce bias. The use of quantitative and qualitative methods, in the same study, complements subjective and objective knowledge, setting up a “creative tension” (Pardo, 2010) to explore social complexity.

In the context of this study, a mixed methods approach helps the exploration of the social complexity of the production and circulation of gender knowledge, understanding intellectual labour concerning gender, and its circulation in journalism education, as a labour process where knowledge is produced in a collective act and within a specific labour force. It is immersed in a specific culture and defined by relations to existing bodies of knowledge (Connell & Crawford, 2007). Its circulation therefore depends on how, where and by whom the knowledge is produced and the social interests that support it. In these terms, it is desirable that

the study's methodology includes different methods such as life history and content analysis to analyse the relations and interplay of social and institutional structures.

The study used a mixed methods design and multilevel approach, which means two or more approaches were used sequentially and come from more than one level of an organisation or group (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998).

## **Methods used**

The study examined journalism education within a social structure, exploring the complexity of the system and the dynamics between higher education, journalism education and the production of gender knowledge. The study was immersed in an unexplored field, which required the creation of a multidimensional project to explore as wide as it was possible to explain the phenomena. This approach offered a more comprehensive understanding regarding behaviours and events. The multilevel analysis allowed an approach that could transcend the study of journalism education as an isolated phenomenon.

The study includes three units of analysis: organisation, individuals and social artefacts. Through these units, I looked at the history of journalism education; I reviewed and analysed the entire outline units of four degree curricula of journalism education from the 1980s; I observed four universities and three media organisations; I formally interviewed teachers and journalists; I carried out informal conversations with journalists and executives who had the power to make decisions in the mass media industry; and I reviewed extensive international and Chilean literature and the output of journalism educational programs, newspapers and free-to-air TV news from the 1950s, in the case of newspapers, and from the 1990s in the case of free-to-air television news.

The main methods used were: life history interviews of journalists, teachers and key informants from the media; content analysis of curricula; and historical analysis.

## **Life history research**

Examining the simultaneous construction of gender, higher education and production of intellectual labour through a generative approach requires a

qualitative methodology that allows an understanding of the interplay between these structures and the interplay between structures and individuals.

Life history methods meet these requirements. It has been applied in different fields of knowledge such as psychology, anthropology and sociology (Chárriez, 2012). It has been used from clinical practice (e.g. psychoanalysis) to academic research. Education researchers have amply considered life history in sociological analysis. For example, Huberman (1993) looks at how educators change in his book, *The Lives of Teachers*, where he is able to identify the cycle of teaching development. Feminist researchers have used life history to examine women's lives, especially related to experiences of marriage, divorce, household and social relationships in general (Geiger, 1986). According to Geiger, these types of narratives reveal much about how women are socialised into a culture. In Goodson (1992), Margaret Nelson and Kathleen Casey explored the labour experience of female teachers, recognising that life history narratives allowed them to understand not only the labour experience of female teachers but also the problems of activism and the rural schooling system.

Messerschmidt (1993, 2000) and Raewyn Connell (2007, 2009, 2010, 2012) have used life history as a method of researching gender and masculinity. As Dhunpath and Samuel (2009) argued, there is an important body of literature in social science that acknowledges the value of narrative in terms of the acceptance of “multi-vocality and multi-directionality of a person's identity”. Life histories of intellectual labour have been used by Raewyn Connell (2006) to look at the intellectual labour process in global connections (Connell, Crawford & Wood, 2005). Although this type of methodology is not the common approach used, Connell (2005, 2006, 2007, 2010) has demonstrated the unique opportunity that life history brings to the analysis of work, careers and identities within cultural dynamics.

There are some criticisms of the small samples used in life history. As Messerschmidt points out (2000, p. 17), “life history research does not target large and representative samples from which to draw bold generalisations. Rather, its goal is to uncover patterns and to provide useful cases”. Life histories are not designed to be used in mass research. The emergent narrative achieved through interviews is a depth that conventional survey research cannot achieve.

The life history method is particularly relevant to the current project, since, through narratives we are able to see personal and social transformation over time. Life history accounts for, ‘the relation between the social conditions that determine practice and the future social world that practice brings into being’ (Connell, 1995, p. 89). Therefore, the use of life history is appropriate for this study, which seeks to examine intellectual labour processes and gender as broad questions of education and cultural dynamics.

One of the main impetuses for using life history as a method is that, during the process of interviews, an individual’s life history provides experiential subjective elements that allow us to deal with the “intersectionality” of social dynamics such as race, gender, and class (Crenshaw, 1991). These elements help to unpack how particular categories shape both individual experience and the social world on a larger scale.

Life histories bring elements relevant to the research that perceives interviews as historical construction. Through life histories we can see particular trajectories within different institutional and historical contexts. The biographic approach, and particularly life histories, offers a historical overview of the facts (Plummer, 2001). Thus it is also possible to see how the narratives of the interviewees are intersected by common elements.

Life histories were used in this thesis for full-time teachers, part-time teachers, practitioners of journalism, and key informants. Six life histories were chosen. By presenting these cases the tendency to repeat issues was eliminated.

## **Content analysis**

Content analysis in a broad sense is a technique for interpretation of text, whether written, recorded or filmed (Abela, 2002). Content analysis is an analysis of communication that, via systematic coding and counting, allows inferences regarding the condition of production/reception of the data (Bardin, 1986). Content analysis includes the definition of codes prior to searching for them in the data and in this manner is a deductive methodology, considered objective because it is explicit about how the content is going to be coded (Rice & Ezzy, 1999). The



information obtained is interpreted, adding historical and ethnographic information (Bernard, 1995).

Authors such as Stuart (2001) and North (2010) have used content analysis to investigate journalism education. North (2010, p. 106) pointed out that “content analysis is a method considered adequate to research gender within the curriculum because it allows classification of content and systematically records if gender occurs or not”. However she also acknowledges the risk of missing “the overall sense of a body of communication” and not being able to look at the material from a more qualitative perspective. To avoid this problem the thesis used mixed methodology and multilevel approaches.

In this thesis content analysis applied mainly to curriculum documents.

## **Historical analysis**

To properly explain and understand the dynamics of the phenomena studied, historical analysis is an appropriate method as it looks at past activities such as social, educational, economic and political events involving the collection of facts, their analysis and systematisation, with the aim to understand and reconstruct the present situation (Loretta and Heidgerken, 1953). Historical analysis has been widely used in education research. Brickman (1949) explained the relevance of historical analysis, emphasising the discovery and reporting of facts. Apple (1990) argued about the importance of examining the curricular history in analysing the concrete and economic forces that provide the ideological context in the creation of curricula and education in general. More recently, Ward (2012) carried out a historical analysis of the influence of neoliberal ideas and practice on the way that knowledge has been conceptualised historically. He pointed out that historical analysis not only provides the opportunity to analyse the phenomena over time but also to reflect on the different mechanisms and dynamics of the events that have been part of the transformation of knowledge and education.

Incorporation of gender within a historical analysis introduces a relational notion of gender. As Davis (1975, p. 4) suggests, the goal of a historical analysis that aims to include a gender focus is “to discover the range in sex roles and in sexual

symbolism in different societies and periods, to find out what meanings they had and how they functioned to maintain the social order or to promote its change.”

The decision to integrate a historical analysis of higher education and journalism education in Chile in this thesis is not an arbitrary one. The analysis has the intention of providing insight into the dynamics that have contributed to the creation of the present time and also to challenge dominant assumptions.

## **Study design**

The study is situated in four Chilean universities; it covers three types of individuals: teachers of journalism education, journalists and executives with powers to make decisions in the industry of mass media. The study also looks extensively at the output of journalism educational programs from four universities.

## **Sampling: from individuals to institutions and back to individuals**

### **Universities**

From the 34 Chilean universities that delivered a journalism education degree in 2012, four universities were chosen to incorporate the most important degree programs delivered in Chile. These universities had the largest enrolments in journalism education over the past five years, representing the largest fraction of the total number of students who access journalism education in the Metropolitan Region of Chile. From 22 universities that delivered journalism education in the Metropolitan Region in 2011, the four selected universities had 38 per cent of total enrolments.

The four universities are located within the Metropolitan Region. All are members of the Consejo de Rectores del Ministerio de Educación (Rector’s Council of the Ministry of Education) and have provided a journalism education degree for more than 20 years continually, which makes them experienced and stable universities in providing a degree in journalism education.

Also added to this sampling was the criterion of segmentation based on ownership, which includes two universities that are privately owned and two that are publicly

owned. The reason for sampling different modalities of ownership is to represent the different scenarios in which journalism education has developed.

Another prestigious elite university with 14 per cent of total enrolments was approached but chose not to participate in the study. The main reason provided by the Dean of the Faculty of Communication was: “Due to the large amount of students interested in research, we have decided only to participate in research related to communication, especially themes related to areas of research engaged in by our educators”. This rejection was a valuable piece of information for the research, illustrating the difficulty of universities to see gender knowledge as part of the construction of knowledge within the communication field.

### **Curriculum and unit outlines**

All public curricula available in descriptions were collected from the four universities selected, as well as unit outlines and undergraduate guides that were available on the universities’ web pages. In cases where these documents were not online, I sought them directly from the Dean of the Faculty of Communication. Access was difficult due to the lack of systematisation: only one university had all the units systematised online.

The information provided in each unit description is: name of the unit, type of unit (compulsory, general elective or specialisation), name of the teacher delivering the unit, teacher’s contact details, number of weekly sessions, objective of the unit, contents, type of contents, compulsory bibliography, which includes all the documents students must read during the unit, specifying author name, title and year of publication.

The curricula used were the oldest that each university had available. In the private universities this corresponds to the opening of the university and in the case of public universities, it corresponds to the earliest curriculum for which the universities had records. Curricula from 1982 to 2012 were examined from the four universities selected. The unit data analysed from units of study outlines corresponds to information that universities displayed as public data during 2012. It is likely that some universities may have restructured or changed their curriculum

since the end of 2012. Likewise, units of study used are from 2012. A total of 13 course structures, with a total of 222 units of study, were reviewed.

### Individual. Interviewees

Interviews were conducted with:

Interview		Public University	Private University		Total Interview
Teachers	Exclusively university teachers	8	8		16
	Part-time teachers. University teachers who also work as journalists	4	4		8
		Institution Newspaper	Institution Radio	Institution Television	
Exclusively journalists		3	1	3	7
		NGO's		Union	
Key informants from mass media organisations		2		2	4
<b>Total Interviews</b>					<b>35</b>

Full-time teachers and part-time teachers who participated in the study worked at the four universities mentioned above. The sample was defined in order to obtain different professional perspectives on the research topic. The sample size is considered sufficient for a diversity of organisational experience to surface, while being practical in terms of fieldwork.

The study focused on 24 teachers, 7 journalists and 4 key informants, aged between 30 and 63 years. Having a wide range of ages allowed me to interview people who have been educated in different periods of the socio-political history of Chile and also in different periods of journalism education. The sample included people educated in three periods, a) before the Pinochet dictatorship, which includes the beginning of professionalisation of journalism and the beginning of institutional breakdown; b) during the military regime, which involved the interruption of democracy and the establishment of the neoliberal education reforms; c) under

democracy, which implies the legitimization and consolidation of the neoliberal education system.

Focusing on journalists and educators is relevant in the frame of this study because it is assumed that understanding the labour of intellectuals is central to understanding cultural dynamics and therefore the production and circulation of gender knowledge.

Long service at the organisations was used as a criterion of selection because it is considered that people working within the organisation (university or media) for long periods are permeated with the organisational culture, have a large amount of information about the process of production of knowledge and also have a historical notion of the facts of the organisations.

Finally, I included key informants to obtain an employer perspective on journalism and journalism education, as well as to provide a union perspective, in the case of unionised informants.

### **Contacting interviewees**

Having set the sample framework, I approached the journalism and education interviewees in three stages. In a first stage, I contacted the Dean of each university asking if the university wished to participate in the study. After obtaining this consent, I began to contact teachers. I did not know any of my interviewees beforehand.

In the second stage, I contacted my interviewees directly. The first approach was via email. The entire contacted population agreed to be interviewed. The following contact was generally by phone to establish the time and place of the interview.

Initial organisation of the field research was carried out from a different country, which often involved complex logistics. Overall, this process was often intense due to the timeframe available for the fieldwork and the limited time the interviewees often had. I was able to interview all people contacted. All of the interviews were done intensively over two months in 2012. One of the most important reasons for

success was pre-arranging some of the interviews before travelling to Chile and also being accessible and flexible in case of any change to timetables.

In the majority of the conversations, interviewees recommended I talk with other people whom they thought were important for the research in terms of gender. These recommendations always took me to the same (two) academics' names, which confirmed the concentration of intellectual production in gender within journalism education.

In the course of the research, I conducted 35 interviews with 18 men and 17 women. Twenty two of the 24 teachers had a degree from a public university, even those currently employed by a private university. In the case of journalists, five journalists received their education from public universities; two from private universities, and the contacted key informants all attended public universities.

In terms of sex the distribution was as follows: twelve female teachers and 12 male teachers; three female key informants and one male; two female journalists and five male journalists.

Personal life histories were diverse. Thirteen of the interviewees come from working-class families and 25 from middle-class families – judging by the occupation of the father, or mother in the case of single families. From the 16 full-time teachers interviewed, 14 are employed under permanent contracts. All of the eight part-time teachers are casual workers. Two of the seven journalists hold permanent contracts.

There are several elements that are common between all the interviewees: they are all formally qualified journalists and from those who attended a public university, most graduated from the University of Chile or the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile. Their lives are work-oriented, pressured, and most of them are influential in the public domain, i.e. their work circulates in journals or in the public sphere through newspaper columns or academic and political magazines.

In political terms, among the generation aged over 40 (27 people) almost all identified themselves as “left-wing”; only three did not. Among those aged under 40 (8 people), only one identified herself as left-wing. One hundred per cent of the

academics have published in different areas of journalism. Four (one male and three female) of the 35 interviewees have researched and written about journalism and gender and three of the 24 teachers hold senior positions.

### **Interview guides**

Data for the life histories include autobiographies, web pages and public interviews where these were accessible. For the interviews I used semi-structured interviews thematically focused on different stages of their life (Plummer 2001; Connell 2010).

I met with each interviewee for about 90 minutes. Usually I met them where they determined. In most cases this was at their office, with only three exceptions. One I met at a cafe and two in their homes.

The topics covered in the interviews were:

- Life trajectory
- Industrial experience
- Social practice, division of labour, gender attributes, gender themes in journalism education
- University, curriculum and industrial relations
- Public policy, journalism education and journalism

Each topic has a key initial question but the depth to which a topic was examined varied from one interviewee to another, especially between teacher-journalists and key informants. All the interviews were done in Spanish, recorded and later transcribed. The researcher has translated the text into English.

### **Data analysis**

#### **Interview analysis**

The analysis of the life history followed three steps:

First, analysis of the interviewee's own trajectory, looking at each interview as a unit. I prepared individual case studies, considering personal trajectory, intellectual identity and industrial experience, gender aspects in personal and work life, and

social and intellectual dynamics within university, curricular and industrial relations.

In a second step, I reconstructed the trajectory of life, work and gender relations using the four dimensions of gender proposed by Connell (2009): 1) power relations; 2) production, consumption and gendered accumulation; 3) emotional relations; and 4) symbolism, culture, discourse. These dimensions were used as categories of gender analysis in this study.

I used an analysis of the production of knowledge, which involves two levels of complexity. At the first level, intellectual capital was accounted for, which implies material effects i.e. formal contents of economic relations and professional qualifications. Secondly, knowledge production was understood in terms of intangible production. As Hardt and Negri (2004, p.44) pointed out, this would include information, knowledge, ideas, images, affections and relationships.

In a third stage, the cases were grouped to explore common aspects and differences in the trajectories of educators and journalists coming from particular social, educational, and professional backgrounds, to establish their collective location in macro-level changes. I analysed collectively and grouped according to public or private university and type of teaching (full-time or part-time). I also grouped by type of contract (casual, permanent or annual) and type of university research (whether or not work was related to gender research).

I looked for: a) patterns in the labour processes and examined the role of different institutions; b) common structural factors; c) patterns involved in certain practices of the production of knowledge and gender; and d) common patterns which revealed historical, social, political and cultural events.

The interpretation of the narrative thus went further than the description of the discourse. The interpretation was transformed into a meta-analysis of the narrative where the interplay of the individual life histories were examined.



## Curriculum analysis

The curriculum case studies explored the following questions: a) What do the universities currently deliver?; b) what is the approach to production and circulation of knowledge in the curricula of journalism education?; c) which forms of

knowledge are promoted within contemporary journalism education as a discipline?; and d) does gender knowledge form part of journalism education units?

The sources of information analysed were documents published by the universities, such as unit outlines, course structures and undergraduate guides. The curriculum products were analysed in terms of their structure, change dynamics and the production and circulation of knowledge.

Data analysis followed the general approach used by Adams and Duffield (2006), which focused on analysing unit contents in a collective case study of journalism degrees in Australian universities. Adams and Duffield (2006) defined categories as professional practice, theoretical context subjects, or units in the journalism strand from cognate disciplines that permitted inquiries into many aspects of journalism teaching and also looked at the tension between practice and theory, or between core journalism and communication studies. To this thesis, new variables were added and adapted (including aspects of gender) in the Chilean context.

Data analysis was conducted in two stages

- a) Units of study outlines were reviewed, summarised and coded.

The information was recorded as follows:

Course structure	
-	Year of curricula
-	Name of university
-	Course name
-	Core units
-	- University wide
-	- Faculty wide
-	Journalism units
-	- Compulsory
-	- Elective
-	- Specialised courses
-	Thesis

Units were classified into the subsequent categories and areas of developing knowledge:

Areas	Category	Description
Cognate Disciplines	Foundation of Knowledge	Units related to groups of traditional units that build a body of knowledge, such as Philosophy, Anthropology or Cultural Studies.
	Communication	Units related explicitly to communication, such as theory of communication, models of communication and so on.
	Other Disciplines	Units based on disciplines that have been incorporated within journalism education in Chile although they could be disciplines in themselves and a degree itself. Such as: Advertising, Public relations, Management and Strategic Communication.
Theoretical Contextual	Writing	Units related to developing only writing skills such as grammar and writing.
	Methodology of Research	Units related to methodology courses such as qualitative and quantitative research.
	Journalism Research	Units related to teaching how to research specifically in journalism.
	Digital Contents	Units related to digitalisation of new technologies, such as learning how to use computers or specific programs that are used within journalism.
	Law and Ethics	Units related to ethics, law, rights and journalism, such as, free speech, regulation of television, ethics and framework of journalism education "and so on".
	Entrepreneurship	Units related to how to create an enterprise or how to manage an organisation.
	English	Units that are related to English as a second language to be learned within journalism education.
Professional Practice	Elements for Professional Practice	Units that are involved in providing students technical knowledge in mass media such as television, radio, press and photography.
	Professional Practice	Units that are involved in providing students education specifically related to journalism as a practice. Units such as: News productions, Interviews and Journalism workshop.
	Specialisation	Units related to journalism specialisation. The university defines it as specialisation units. Here it is possible to find units in arts, sport, legal journalism, marketing etc.
Degree	Seminar Degree	Units that each university defines as seminar degree. Generally it refers to a special course that allows students to be able to do a thesis.

Units of study outlines from each university were reviewed for the year 2012. A manual of codification was created. It was used to qualify and measure the information provided in the unit outlines. The manual of codification contained descriptions of all units from the course structures selected. All the information from the universities was tabulated and coded, including general descriptors of each unit, such as character of the unit, number of teachers for the unit, number of sessions per week and the main themes of the unit. Pedagogical and gender indicators were also raised, which focused on the type of content delivered and the structure of the study program. Coding included: type of knowledge, presence or absence of gender/feminism content, relationship between knowledge/content, pedagogical elements, presence or absence of gender/feminism content in the

compulsory bibliography, sex of teacher per each unit and sex of authors that were part of the compulsory bibliography. Data collected was summarised electronically in order to construct a series of spreadsheets to organise the data.

b) Each course structure was reviewed by year of actualisation from 1982 to 2012. They were reviewed, summarised and categorised as the unit of studies. The data was used to analyse the main changes within the course structure during the period reviewed, recording the incidence of long-standing, common elements, such as introductory journalism or news writing units, ethics or law for journalists; and prominent new units, such as digital content.

### **Critical historical analysis**

Documents put forth by different authors and agencies were examined in order to gain an understanding of the past and present of the journalism education degrees as both practice and the producer of a field of knowledge.

A historical analysis provided the context to the study but was also used as a historical tool to reconstruct the development of the field of journalism education. Analytical questions in the documents such as: How has journalism education been displayed during the years? What type of knowledge has journalism education incorporated? How is journalism education portrayed within the realm of higher education? What types of knowledge has journalism education promoted? Which knowledge circulates within journalism education? Has the practice of journalism education changed and, if so, how? Has the social structure of journalism education changed?

The analysis used includes two stages: Firstly, the analysis organised the history of journalism into four stages rather than on a year-by-year breakdown of historical facts (See Chapter 3). These stages analysed the major moments of the development of the field, and critical events that marked specific transitions in journalism education/journalism in the historical context. The analysis intends to go beyond chronological (year-by-year) facts since these were not considered adequate to comprehend the complexity of journalism as a discipline and the production of gender knowledge within it.

Secondly, to generate a deeper analysis of journalism education/journalism/gender, I analysed the relations and interplay of social structures, including some interviews with key informants as complementary data. Likewise four newspapers from 1950 to 2012 were reviewed and used to reconstruct the history of journalism education. The newspapers used were: La Nacion, El Fortin Mapocho, El Mercurio y Las Ultimas Noticias. The purpose was to generate a better understanding of how their dynamics and complexities have influenced journalism education in Chile (See Chapters 3, 4, 5).

## **Ethics**

This research followed the ethical guidelines established by The University of Sydney for all research involving individuals. Ethical issues considered included formal consent to the interviews with journalists, teachers and key informants. Formal consent was obtained via a letter to the universities and mass media organisations as well as with those interviewed. In this case, formal consents were obtained through a letter to the director of the mass media organisation and to the director of the faculty of journalism.

## **PART II: FINDINGS**

### **Chapter 3: Journalism Education in Chile**

#### **Introduction**

This Chapter presents the key elements of the current situation of journalism education in Chile through historical analysis. The modern history of mass media provides the context for, and a powerful backdrop to, an analysis of journalism education, providing an opportunity to approach analytical complexities in a real and dynamic example. The Chapter is an historical reconstruction combining secondary literature, primary source material, and oral history material from interviews.

The following Chapter is divided into three sections. The first section offers an analysis of mass media from 1900 to 2013. The second section provides an analysis of the history of journalism education from 1956 to 2013. The third section introduces curricula in journalism education in Chile, which will be examined in detail in Chapter 4.

#### **Gender in the history of mass media in Chile**

##### **Golden years**

Two hundred years have passed since the appearance of the first Chilean periodical, published in 1812, *La Aurora de Chile*. Over the following hundred years, the formation of journalism consisted of the practical formation of newspapermen (Lauk & Pallas, 2008). Journalistic activity was related to press media and was practised mainly by intellectuals who were widely respected in their own professional fields, such as lawyers, architects or historians. It was an elite occupation. Most journalists were men and news coverage was addressed to them. Women were mostly out of the public discourse and the narratives that the mass media covered. At the beginning of the 1890s women's publications such as newspapers and magazines were established by elite women with the economic resources and education to utilise the press as part of their cultural and intellectual development, but also as a part of their ideological and political battles. An example

was the newspaper, *El Eco de la Liga de las Damas Chilenas*. This publication in circulation from 1912 to 1915, appeared as a response to the political discussion on the repositioning of Catholicism as the religion of the State (Montero, 2013).

In the following years, more diverse women's publication production evolved. The increasing participation of women in the labour market and the migration of women to the cities stimulated working-class women to also create a space in the press media through news publications. This highlighted not only their struggles and concerns, but also how gender dynamics were constructed through public space. This new feminine media arguably changed the patterns of recruitment to the profession, opening journalism positions to women, which had not previously existed. However, most female journalists wrote under pseudonyms to protect their identity. For example, Ines Echeverria de Larrain wrote under the pseudonym of Iris, while Elvira Santa Cruz used Roxanne. Both women were at the vanguard of those women fighting for women's rights in Chile.

Between September 1924 and January 1925 there were two coups in Chile. While this generated political uncertainty and instability in the country, it also intensified women's organisational skills, including the formation of women's political parties (Errázuriz, 2005). The data suggest that these political entities were a key in the creation and circulation of women's press publications during this time. While this rich period of female press production was enlightened, it never reached the volume of the traditional masculine press. The female-oriented Chilean press included 19 publications (Agliati & Montero, 2003) within a scope of 759 general publications in the same period (Fernández, 2003). Two of those female-orientated publications were focused on working-class women and were linked to the Movimiento Obrero de Mujeres (Women's Worker Movement), which specifically covered the demands of women in terms of labour issues and work conditions. As Montero pointed out (2013, p. 325), these media "were a feminine press *for* women and done *by* women". Most of them were funded by female entrepreneurs and were economically independent of political parties.

Radio was another mass media industry developed during this period. The national radio station in Chile, *Radio Chilena*, was founded in 1923. By the late 1920s there were more than 70 radio stations. Radio allowed the rapid internationalisation of

news broadcasting and news about global changes, including cultural changes. However there is no information about the role of women and men on radio in Chile during this time. As Santa Cruz pointed out (1988), radio histories have an important impact on social life, especially programs such as *Intimidades de la familia Verdejo* (Intimacies of the Verdejo Family), which was a parody of the anti-Communist middle class.

### **From depression to 1970**

An economic crisis developed in 1929 that would lead to what was called the Great Depression. This destabilised Chile politically, economically and socially. The Depression directly affected the mass media industry, but production and circulation of feminist publications were especially hit by the economic crisis that the country was suffering. Some women's publications could not be funded anymore by female entrepreneurs and were absorbed by general media and political parties (Agliati & Montero, 2003). The data suggests that, from this point, most of the feminist publications were published within masculine organisations or political parties that incorporated publication for women as a part of their political agenda.

One of the few publications that continued to be published *for* women and *by* women was the newspaper *La Mujer Nueva* (The New Woman), a publication linked to one of the most important women's organisations in Chile, Movimiento Pro-de la Mujer Chilena (MEMCH) (Pro-emancipation Movement of Chilean Women). The data suggests that this publication survived due to the link to MEMCH and the relevance MEMCH had to the debate, discussion and support of women's right to vote.

After women won the right to vote in 1949, the women's movement started to disappear, mainly because women who used to belong to the movement became part of the state as public servants. As Agliati and Montero (2003) pointed out, the women's movement became institutionalised, with the consequence that feminist women almost disappeared from the activist milieu and feminine publications began to decrease in number, almost disappearing by the end of the 1960s.

Between 1940 and the end of the 1960s, journalistic enterprise developed rapidly, playing an important role in the Chilean economy (Tironi and Sunkel, 1993). From 1940 to 1960, there were 2,733 newspapers created within the country (The National Library of Chile, 2015). Equally, media enterprises (and journalists) developed a closer relationship with political parties. An example is the newspaper *El Siglo*, which was published by the Communist Party or the newspaper *La Tarde*, which was related to the *Democracia Cristiana* (Centre-Left). Notably, during this period a right-wing position was not officially identified with mass media ownership. However, this political sector maintained an indirect and close relationship with the newspapers *El Mercurio* and *El Diario Ilustrado* (Tironi & Sunkel, 1993). The intensity of political ideology in the press increased by the end of the 1960s, especially when the political coalition of *Unidad Popular* won the election in 1970.

According to Santa Cruz (1998, p. 69), before the *Unidad Popular* the “press and mass media in general were instruments of production and circulation of bourgeois conceptions of development”. The influence of the United States penetrated Chilean media productions, changing the development of its contents. From 1950, news enterprises were consolidated within a liberal model of the information market where four news agencies controlled 82 per cent of international news towards 1960 (Santa Cruz, 1998).

Television broadcasting was still in an experimental phase from 1959 to 1962. In 1959 the government created two channels and one in 1960. In 1970 television became part of a system called “State university”, which defined within its legal norm that television would not serve any single ideology and would maintain respect for all political beliefs (Menanteau-Horta, 1967). Television broadcasting remained part of university channels until the end of the 1980s, when it was privatised.

As Menanteau-Horta (1967, p. 719) pointed out in the first study of the industry:

At present Chile has about 15 newspapers, almost 100 radio stations, three television stations and more than 700 periodical publications. For



every 100 Chileans there is estimated to be 13 newspapers, 10 radio receivers and five cinema seats.

The median age of journalists was 40, with 93 per cent men. The small per cent of women is explained by the late incorporation within the profession.

It is possible to distinguish 10 groups of media power that dominated the mass media industry during the 1970s. This included *El Mercurio*, *Zig-Zag* publisher, *Radio Minería*, *Radio Diego Portales*, *Newspaper Consortium Chile*, Chilean Company of Communication, *Radio President Balmaceda*, South Newspapers Society, National Agriculture Society and United Radio Stations. Those groups were related to economic conglomerates and espoused a right-wing ideology. One example is *El Mercurio*, which today belongs to Agustín Edwards Jr., a journalist, mass media businessman and right-wing aligned. In contrast, only a few newspapers were aligned to a left-wing ideology. Most of them were distributed locally and ran much smaller circulations: 10 per cent of the total distribution of the national newspapers (Uribe, 2002). The ownership of those newspapers was linked to political parties. Some examples of these newspapers were: *El Siglo*, which was published by the Communist Party, *La Última Hora*, published by the Socialist Party and *The Press*, which belonged to the Christian Democratic Party.

Although radio was part of the media, its impact was marginal. Radio station broadcasts had a minimal influence in the political and academic sphere (Tironi & Sunkel, 1993). This situation would change, however, after the 1973 coup and ensuing dictatorship due to the vital role of radio in the resistance. Newspapers and radio stations had different types of ownership structures, such as private ownership, State ownership and those that belonged to universities.

At the beginning of the 1970s, the structure of newspapers changed, due to the need to compete in a developed mass media market. News became smaller and advertising gained a greater space within newspapers. An example is *El Mercurio*, which had 62 per cent of its content dedicated to advertising in 1966 and captured seven per cent of the total advertising revenue of the nation's capital, Santiago. This change in the structure of the newspapers and mass media in general transformed not only the structure of newspapers but also the relationship with its audience.

Women were seen as a potential audience but also as the main advertising target. The relationship with the audience changed but also generated a tension between the traditional model of womanhood and the emerging feminine model that advertising was beginning to manifest. The mass media began to show a tension between the traditional model of women with newer models of modern womanhood, beginning in the late 1960s and up to the early 1970s (Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, n.d.). Women's magazines and newspapers began to focus their content, articles and images more overtly on the female body. As in other Latin-American countries, such as Colombia, the neoliberal market model established women's body and its representation, as part of its commercial advertising strategies (Rojas, 1994).

### **Coup and mass media**

Following the election of the first Chilean socialist government (*Unidad Popular*) in 1970, several important changes occurred in the mass media. Radio stations and newspapers were purchased by political parties close to the *Unidad Popular*. These purchases were an attempt to address a perceived political imbalance in the media, mainly by those media owned by right-wing sympathetic corporations (Bresnahan, 2009). Purchase of Chilean media outlets was intended to increase the representation of viewpoints aligned with the new government. Thus for a time 37 per cent of the press media supported Allende. Social organisations and political parties that represented the sectores populares (working class) took ownership of a total of 40 radio stations between 1970 and 1974, while 115 radio stations were established by the opposition (Uribe, 2002). This was the first time in Chile's history that political parties and social non-profit organisations had owned mass media outlets.

In April 1970, the first National Assembly of left-wing journalists was held. At this assembly, both male and female journalists established their commitment to the *Unidad Popular*. As the National Assembly pointed out on 11 April 1971, this commitment especially covered:

The fight for the socialisation of mass media communication [...] is necessary to create *Unidad Popular* committees, Popular

Communication Centres, grassroots communities [...]. This will help to extract from the communities creative propositions, so el pueblo (the people) will be able to participate in the construction of their own culture (*Punto Final*, 1971).

Left-wing journalists were not only working openly to support Salvador Allende as president, but were also incorporating different notions of class within journalism when working with different communities. Meanwhile journalists and academics, following international trends, particularly from the United States, began to conduct cultural research, including into gender studies, addressing issues related to ideology and the mass media industry. This led to a conflicted relationship between academia and the mass media but also to a more critical analysis of the media from the audience (see Chapter 3, history of journalism education).

Opposition to Salvador Allende grew quickly not only within Chile but also outside the country, especially in the United States. Mass media was utilised as a key instrument to promote a perception of destabilisation within the country and to provoke fear and rejection of Marxist and socialist ideologies. According to a report released in 1975 by the United States Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities (The Church Committee), the CIA paid newspapers and editors to write articles favouring United States' interests. These included articles critical of the Soviet Union's invasion of Czechoslovakia; the suppression of negative news related to the Vietnam War and the promotion of articles antithetical to left-wing ideology. The United States also paid editors to write false statements designed to provoke internal disputes between left-wing parties. According to the Church Report, *El Mercurio* was a key element in boosting the opposition to Salvador Allende's government during this time: "The United States economically supports *El Mercurio*, giving cash remittances of \$700,000 on the 9<sup>th</sup> of September of 1971, and \$965,000 on the 11<sup>th</sup> of April of 1972" (CIA, 2000, p. 29).

Opposition to Salvador Allende and *La Unidad Popular* included not only the mass media industry but also male and female journalists working in the industry. Some male and female journalists openly opposed Salvador Allende. Most of the journalists opposed to Salvador Allende worked for *El Mercurio*, one of the main

newspapers to oppose Salvador Allende and *La Unidad Popular*. Women journalists became an important link between politics and the right-wing women's movement in support of the coup. As Crummett described (1977, p. 104):

Ms. A, a journalist for *El Mercurio* and member of El Poder Femenino<sup>1</sup>, Chile's principal right-wing newspaper, dated the appearance of an opposition women's movement to several days after Salvador Allende and his *Unidad Popular* coalition were elected to rule in September 1970 [...].

*El Mercurio* described a protest march in an article written by a female journalist as follows:

Yesterday afternoon the largest public demonstration ever, made up exclusively of women, took place in downtown Santiago. Tens of thousands of women of all ages congregated in the streets to protest food shortages and rising prices. As the crowd passed through the streets, women from the neighbouring buildings showed their support and approval by leaning out of windows to clap, or to bang pots and pans. Chilean flags were put out. Shopping bags, cooking utensils, as well as pots and pans, made up the women's protest symbols (*El Mercurio*, December 2, 1971).

On 11 September 1973, Salvador Allende was overthrown in a US-backed coup led by Augusto Pinochet, establishing a military dictatorship. The military regime instigated the closure of newspapers and ordered radio broadcasts to cease. Other actions included the torture and disappearance of people working in the industry of media. According to *The National Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture Reporte Valech I (Report I, 2004)*, between 1973 and 1990, 230 journalists had been held as political prisoners, while 70 people related to the profession were also taken prisoner. *El Reporte Rettig (The Rettig Report, 1991)* of the National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation acknowledged that 22 male journalists and one female journalist were executed. Most of those executed were associated

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<sup>1</sup> A women's opposition organisation. It emerged and developed during the time of the Salvador Allende government.

with the mass media of left-wing political parties, who supported the *Unidad Popular*. In addition, eight journalism students were executed (Sepúlveda, 2006). Two of the journalism students were female. They were 24 and 27 years of age respectively and had both been tortured and murdered. Uribe (2000) indicates that around 300 journalists were forced into exile, while a further 1000 had been unable to find work.

Three radio stations were bombed on the day of the coup, including *Radio Magallanes*, *Radio Corporación* and *Radio Portales*. After the coup, at least 40 stations were expropriated (Munizaga & Maza, 1978). According to Herrera (2006), 312,000 copies of newspapers were destroyed after the coup. Although there remained some media that were allowed to operate, they were supporters of the regime and were subject to censorship, needing to report every activity (the media agency) carried out (*Reporte Valech II*, 2011). An office of censorship was created called the National Council of Social Communication (Dirección Nacional de Comunicación Social (DINACOS)), which was in charge of censoring print editions. There was a separation between the media, political parties and universities, thus stifling any cross-fertilisation of ideas or the possibility of the raising of issues between them. González (2011, p. 7) described this time as a “cultural and educational blackout.”

In the period of the dictatorship, the media that were subordinate to the regime were used as a screen to obscure the many incidents of repression and atrocities taking place within the country. Journalists and the mass media were used to cover up the brutalities of the regime. An example of this is given in the *Reporte Valech I* (2004), describing that, a month after the coup, in October 1973, the magazine *Ercilla*<sup>2</sup> published an article rejecting the poor physical and psychological condition of the prisoners gathered on Dawson Island, where hundreds of people were being tortured. According to the journalists who would have had access to the island, the prisoners had “a freshness which was not characteristic of their previous life. Their faces are the toasted product of Magallánico sun and wind” (*Reporte Valech II*,

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<sup>2</sup> *Ercilla* is a Chilean magazine, published fortnightly and devoted to various topics, especially politics, economics and society. The magazine began as a literary newsletter in 1933. Until 1994 the magazine belonged to Editorial Zig-Zag which was a supporter of the military regime. In the days following the coup of September 11, 1973, the magazine *Ercilla* did not circulate. It reappeared on 26 September of that year narrating details of events that occurred during the military uprising. *Ercilla* is now owned by Holland Communications.

2004, p. 206).<sup>3</sup> Such reporting suggests that the mass media and journalists were not only acting as an instrument of the dictatorship, but were also used to organise and structure the perception of facts and therefore of history.

After the beginning of the dictatorship a number of journalists and activists began to work underground, with such activity becoming a form of resistance. Public dissemination of their work was limited to material such as pamphlets, clandestine radio broadcasts or bulletin boards. These alternative media were important as instruments of opposition and struggle towards ending the military dictatorship. One example of alternative radio was *Radio Villa Francia* and the bulletin board *Fortin Mapocho*.

Although this suggests that there was not a complete cessation of diversity in the production of journalistic knowledge, there was, however, minimal circulation of alternative (oppositional) views. Resistance was present in different forms. A new generation of intellectual women opposed to the dictatorship began to generate knowledge, such as degree theses, research, articles and books. A connection to an international women's movement also appeared. As Maria, illustrated:

I went to ILAS<sup>4</sup> for my first lecture about feminist theory. There was a feminist who was invited from the United States and she presented a talk on feminism. Afterwards I became part of a feminist group at the Morada. It was not an academic group. It was an activist group and a reflection group [...]. Within the political parties we also started to debate gender [...] we had a motto, 'Democracia en el país y en la casa' (Democracy in the country and in the home) [...] when I did my journalism education thesis I did it about language. It was called 'Language is a Women's Issue'. I did it because this is the main difficulty that I feel in my journalism practice; I felt all the time that I have to dress up as a man (see more in Chapter 5).

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<sup>3</sup> [Chapter.comisiontortura.cl](http://Chapter.comisiontortura.cl)

<sup>4</sup> The Institute of Mental Health and Human Rights.

Maria's narrative suggests the importance of international relationships for the resistance but also hints at a link between feminism and left-wing ideology. Relationships with international organisations were important not only in terms of the circulation of knowledge but also in terms of funding the production of knowledge in Chile. The production of gender knowledge was maintained due to the support of international cooperation agencies committed to women's rights and to the process of the democratisation of Chile such as the United Nations Women organisation. This suggests that the establishment of immaterial production requires economic support in order to circulate and survive, but also needs ideological interest to be able to be produced.

### **Neoliberal era**

From the beginning of the 1980s onwards, parallel to the struggle of the alternative media under the military regime, the formal media began to modernise its communication systems. This process of 'modernisation' promoted by the military regime included, as Tironi and Sunkel (1993, p. 231) pointed out:

An increase in media coverage, a growth in advertising investment, elimination of advertising restrictions, imposition of a policy of self-financing and television installed as the main medium of information.

Free market ideology, adopted by the military junta, was at the heart of the modernisation process, which led to a large-scale privatisation of State industries including the education sector and mass media industry. In the case of education, privatisation provoked an overlap of interests and connections between the different institutions (see Chapter 3 history of journalism education). In the case of the mass media, privatisation intensified the concentration of media ownership within large corporations, not only by the concentration of strong political interests but also of market interests (Tironi & Sunkel, 1993).

With the recovery of democracy the mass media industry in Chile remained concentrated. As Martorell (2010, p. 296) illustrates: "in 20 years of democracy and after four elections that favoured the opposition to Pinochet, pluralism in press media did not change". According to Corrales and Sandoval (in González, 2008),

the Chilean mass media entrepreneur is ideologically and economically uniform and has a very strong commitment to the neoliberal model and culturally is very conservative. The concentration of ownership has led to a uniformity of themes and informative styles.

At the end of the 1980s, the political agenda to achieve a strong democracy by the State was pushed aside in favour of the development of an open market system. In Chile the concentration of the media was mainly a political process that involved economic interests and was carried out through the use of terror and violence.

Since the 1990s, there has been a massive transformation in the production, consumption and content of news media, particularly in television. Changes have occurred due to dramatic technological advances but also because of the acquisition of mass media by international corporations. In Chile it is possible to distinguish four main changes during the 1990s: the incorporation of low-cost Western television programs, the internationalisation of radio and newspapers with new formats and more advertising, the attempt to respond to declining circulations and the shift of classified advertising to the internet.

In terms of content, according to Pedro, an interviewee, the content of media changed to become entertainment and was dictated predominantly by the market. As Pedro said, “all that is for sale is there.”

Tomas also pointed out:

From the 1990s journalism started to become infotainment, an info-show. There are journalistic practices that have been installed and they are very bad, particularly in television and the press media. There is a belief that the main function of mass media is entertainment, i.e. you cannot inform if you do not entertain [...] During the 2000s especially, TV changed its agenda and became a total entertainment media. This meant a violent deterioration of journalism, causing the media to become disconnected from reality [...] the retail also changed the behaviour of people, transforming them into consumers. Television is now the most important media [...] there is a kind of fissure in the



country between who can access good information and who only has access to superficial information.

Political agendas were transformed by ratings, according to Tomas. The transformation of television news was an example where restructuring made it more commercial. As Tomas illustrated:

In 2002-2003 started the trend to do mini investigations that at first lasted for five minutes. However, today it is about half an hour. The structure changed, international news disappeared and finance news was exchanged for sport and police stories. What at the beginning seemed to be space where people could talk about their issues it was trivialised; absolutely banal entertainment, all day, nothing really important.

Social agendas that were part of the political agendas established by NGOs during the dictatorship began to disappear. With the disappearance of the NGOs, the women's movement began to be ignored by the mass media. The women's movement lacked the economic support to continue maintaining a feminist resistance agenda and promoting woman's issues. Although democratic governments did generate a commitment to women's matters and concerns, such as gender violence, since 1999, this commitment has not penetrated the mass media industry.

There has been a trend of intensified consumerism through advertising. This advertising has established more concrete sex dichotomies. The media industry has become effective in generating specific gender stereotypes, focusing particularly on women and women's bodies (Durham, 2008). Research by Uribe, Manzur, Hidalgo and Fernández (2008) on advertising in Chile showed that Chilean publicity and advertising tended to associate women with beauty and personal care products, lower prices, greater emotional dependency, and found also that women were depicted exhibiting more physical parts of their bodies than men.

Tomas explained:

It is true that there has been a small improvement to acknowledge that there is a need to improve equity. Women are highly targeted as

consumers, so the mass media has created not only one type of woman, but has created and used the image of different women with different needs so there are specific products for every woman'. There are women who work, others who do not, who are housewives, it does not matter, there is a product for all of them. Mass media treats them, trying to 'help them', giving specific data such as clothes sales, appliances sales etc. The same goes for men but less so.

These female stereotypes are not only perceived by adults, but also by children, particularly girls. Souza and Alarcón (2008) show how girls reflect the power relationships revolving around the use of the body as a sexual object and acknowledge that television purposely exposes women's bodies.

In a more global view of the media, it is possible to also see that news perpetuates a masculine treatment and development. This is confirmed by research by the National Service of Women (SERNAM, 2009) in Chile, which reviewed radio, television and newspapers, and pointed out that for news that uses a person as a source, 65 per cent of the protagonists of the news were men, 22 per cent women and 13 per cent both. It demonstrated how mass media tended to favour a masculine protagonist in news. Press media tended to segregate women according to socioeconomic levels: most of the women (65 per cent) were represented as upper-class and 7.7 per cent as working-class. Another result was that press media gave women more visibility in areas such as institutional politics, entertainment and showbiz. In terms of content production in radio, television and press media, 89 per cent of photographers, 83 per cent of writers and 72 per cent of reporters were men. Looking particularly at television, only six per cent of panel interviewees were women.

In terms of the structure of the industry, research by Mellado, Salinas, Del Valle and González (2010) showed a masculinised gender order within the mass media industry. According to their study, 52 per cent of journalists were men and 48 per cent women. Twenty four per cent of journalists were editors or media directors; of these, 72 per cent were men. This suggests that women's representation in top positions is not anywhere near the same proportion as the number of women in

journalism. Positions of power attained by women were mainly to be found in women's magazines and public services broadcasting.

The changes in mass media give us the notion of the development of gender in the field. It is possible to see, over the history of mass media, that there is a strong relationship between masculinity and the development of the media. Mass media has occupied a powerful position within society in the construction of collective images and culture.

## **Gender in the history of journalism education in Chile**

### **1956 - 1970. The beginnings of professionalisation and the beginning of institutional breakdown**

Journalism education in Chile from 1956 to 1970 can be characterised as comprising of two phenomena: the beginning of the professionalisation of journalism and the intensification of a social rupture that affected the media.

#### **Professionalisation**

The formal incorporation of journalists as an independent occupational group occurred in 1907 when the Circle of Journalism was founded as a response to the transformation of the Chilean mass media market. At that time the Circle of Journalism was composed of 23 press workers, all men. The directory was composed of 12 members and the number of members who could join the Circle was unlimited. The members of the Circle were divided into four types: active members, cooperators, correspondents and honorariums (Piña, 2009). Active members included columnist reporters working with at least one year of experience, ex-columnists and reporters with one year's experience, editors and national or foreign correspondents. Most of these were male journalists. Cooperators were ex-columnists, ex-reporters with at least two years' experience, press administrators with at least one year's experience, foreign intellectual writers and journalists working in magazines or newspapers. Correspondents included journalists from other regions of Chile who had been nominated by the directory of the Circle of Journalism and honorariums were foreign journalists or writers who were well known, owners of newspapers, directors and managers of newspapers.

The Circle of Journalism eventually gave rise to the National Press Association on 24 of August 1951, which was formed by the publishers of print media in Chile (*La Unión de Valparaíso, El Mercurio, La Nación, El Sur de Concepción, Editora Zig-Zag, El Diario Ilustrado* and *La Sociedad Periodística del Sur*) and stimulated the creation of the first journalism school in 1953 and the National Journalists' Association in July 1956 (Círculo de Periodistas, 2009, "History" par. 7). The Circle of Journalism had a union and professional character for a long time. However after the establishment of the National Journalists' Association, the functions of the Circle of Journalism were delimited to the social activities of its affiliates, a role that continues to the present.

Formal university journalism training in Chile began in 1953 at the journalism school at the University of Chile. There were 19 teachers, three of them female: Lenka Franulic Zlatar was a teacher of Journalism, Gullermina Joel-Dunnage and Blanca Grove Valenzuela were English teachers.

Although it was not possible to access the first list of student enrolments, according to Peter:

During the '60s, there was a significant presence of female journalism students [...] most of them coming from ruling class families. The inclusion of women in journalism education and their gradual increase within the industry had important consequences in the dynamics of journalism but also in the incorporation of women in public spaces.

Although there is no specific data, some academics interviewed about the history of journalism agreed that there was a considerable number of females within journalism education at its beginning.

As Emmanuel described:

Women did have an effect within journalism. They had to confront a masculinised market, but also they had to confront the prejudice of their families. How would upper-class ladies go to work and work with men in a bohemian atmosphere.

The immigration to Chile by women from the global north helped to foster the inclusion of gender within the field of journalism, but also helped establish links with international feminist organisations. As Maria pointed out (see Chapter 5), “feminist women from the cities helped the development of gender as an issue within journalism education”. For example, journalist Irene Bluthenthal Geis, was born in Germany and her family moved to Chile in 1938, escaping the Nazis. She studied journalism at the University of Chile and became a publisher and academic. Another example was Michèle Mattelart, who arrived in Chile in 1962 to work as a researcher at the Catholic University. She specialised in gender, combined with political studies. These and other women, including the director of the School of Journalism Education at the University of Chile, Faride Zerán (see more Chapter 4), played a pertinent role in the production of gender knowledge in journalism education, especially in terms of the production of research.

The creation of schools of journalism allowed not only the opening of a new degree at the universities but also the establishment of the professionalisation of journalism in terms of a consensual body of knowledge, theories and methods that involved teaching, learning and research (Deuze, 2005).

Four other universities followed the University of Chile by 1968. As Figure 1 shows, during this time, five university programs in journalism were created.

Year of foundation	University	Region
1953	University of Chile	Metropolitana. Santiago
1956	University of Concepción	VIII Región del BíoBío
1961	Catholic University of Chile	Metropolitana. Santiago
1962	University of Valparaíso	V Región. Valparaíso
1968	Catholic University of the North	II Región. Antofagasta

**Figure 1:** *Foundation of Journalism Schools, Chile, 1953-1968.* **Source:** *The Teaching of Journalism and the Labour Market Report, 2007.* Council of Higher Education. Ministry of Education.

The opportunity to obtain a university degree in journalism initiated the professionalisation of journalism, with the social legitimisation of a developing occupation (Lauk & Pallas, 2008). Professionalisation also implied a separation between the training of journalists and the mass media industry in terms of a

division between the production of knowledge and occupational labour, with, as Deuze would say, its “occupational ideology” (Deuze, 2005). In this sense, the training of journalists would cease to be a kind of professional socialisation determined by the context of the specific enterprise. Thus the opening of journalism education demanded a process of formation and self-definition as an occupational group that determined occupational boundaries, which implied new social and cultural divisions within the practice of journalism.

Three years after the creation of the first journalism school, the Circle of Journalism, with the support of Carlos Ibañez del Campo – Chile’s President at the time – created by law the Chilean Journalists’ Professional Society. The directory of the Journalists’ Professional Society was comprised of a president, general secretary and seven counsellors. All were men. This demonstrates how, despite there being a number of women within the profession, journalism was masculinised. This professional society dictated that only people who had attained a professional title from a university could be part of the Journalists’ Professional Society and therefore perform the role of journalist. Likewise, the Chilean Journalists’ Professional Society had the ability to regulate professional practice to ensure the quality of information given.

The main objectives of this society were to regulate the profession, protect the quality of information, represent members, care for the dignity of the profession, defend freedom of information and professional autonomy, discuss collective contracts of work for the journalists, impose sanctions against those who violated journalistic ethics and ensure fair financial compensation for its members (Menanteau-Horta, 1967). The establishment of this institutionality not only helped define journalism as a professional occupation, but also helped to boost the development of a body of knowledge for the discipline.

European and United States models of journalism education heavily influenced the early journalism schools at Chilean universities, as many docents were graduates from universities in Europe and the United States (Arias, 1983). According to the 1953 register, the first curriculum included units such as: Writing, Geography, Graphic Design, Spanish, Graphic Journalism, Typing, Stenography, Radio, English, Literature, Sociology, Law, Psychology, Social Psychiatry, Universal

History, Economics, Chilean History, History of Journalism, Publicity, and Ethics, among others. By 1964 a new curriculum was implemented. There was a restructuring of the curriculum and some units were eliminated. The new curricula included units such as: Philosophy, Psychology, Writing, Languages (including French and English), Literature, Chilean Culture, Editing, Expression Techniques, Audiovisual Journalism, Social Structure of Latin American, International Relations, Photography, Public Relations and others.

Specific themes such as social structures in Latin America, political-economic relations and international organisations, or seminars on national policy and international and economic development are examples of the type of knowledge circulating in the classroom.

Journalism students were arguably influenced by a political economy element in their studies. For example, the views of Prebisch, on centre-periphery relations, were part of the debate in the teaching of journalism (Castellón, 2006). Prebisch, among others, proposed a theory of dependence, which modified the way of looking at the communication process in Latin America and Chile. At the end of this period (1956-1970) academics such as Mattelart, M.; Mattelart, A.; and Martín-Barbero began to conduct research unveiling the ideological components of the mass media and also the political-economic system of media ownership and to link these to other business activities. Thus the media industry was transformed into an object of critical study.

The International Centre of Studies of Journalism in Latin America (CIESPAL), founded by UNESCO in 1959, proposed the incorporation of communication within journalism education in Latin America. This led Chilean universities to incorporate communication into journalism education, with a new model of journalism education emerging, based on a new professional profile that combined communication and journalism.

Throughout this period the image of journalism and journalists changed. Journalists were no longer seen as bohemian intellectuals. There was a new image based on the professional exercise of journalism. It was a period of transition where old

journalists educated in the occupation shared the realm with a new generation of professional journalists who were part of the first generation of journalism students.

### **The intensification of social rupture and the media**

At the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s, there was an active student movement within Chilean universities. Mass meetings were organised and numerous documents and manifestos were produced arguing for the need for profound changes in society (Mönckeberg, 2005). Social demands grew and students took part in the production of social, political and economic knowledge. During this time the relationship between political parties, media, universities and student associations became closely allied.

As seen in Chapter 1, both the political and university sectors were very close. During this period, the recruitment of journalists was from students of journalism who were activists or sympathetic to left-wing mass media. As an interviewee, Peter, pointed out:

At university I joined a militant faction of a political party and I worked for a magazine, which supported the *Unidad Popular* [...]. I started working at the university. In fact, I was not the only one. They came to pick people from a radio station. I think four people went: female students and male students. We were maybe 20 years old.

Research in journalism education during this early stage tended to replicate work done in North America, prioritising studies of the media audience (Castellón, 2006). The pioneers of this type of study were Carter and Sepúlveda (1964) who produced the first empirical study of media trends in Chile. The article reported that audiences for different media tended to overlap, much as they did in the United States.

The curricula of journalism education were subject to rapid evolution. According to authors such as Arias (1983) and González (2003), the development of the curricula was focused on two primary goals: the development of professional technical knowledge related to the profession itself, and on the delivery of knowledge, with emphasis on humanistic disciplines that were echoes of the social and theoretical



concerns of this time. Study plans in the first decade show an evolution from an extensive range of knowledge, which evolved to include an increasing number of specialised courses within the journalism degree.

### **1970-1986: Interruption of democracy**

#### **The blackout and keeping up appearances**

As part of university reforms by the *Unidad Popular*, different initiatives were implemented to increase access to universities for working-class people, who, up until that time, had not had the opportunity to attain tertiary education. Examples of such measures include the creation of night courses at universities to allow shift workers to study, rural internships, and other measures. Universities and especially the University of Chile – with a presence in different regions of the country – led university extension courses in order to link the universities with the working class. An example of these courses was the journalism course for people from the obreros (working-class), which was initiated by the journalism school at the University of Chile (González, 2003). There is no record of the contents of the course; however the course was part of the initiatives proposed by The National Assembly of left-wing journalists.

In order to increase university enrolments (while reducing the class-based education gap), expenditure on tertiary education reached 35.8 per cent of State education expenditure, equivalent to 1.87 per cent of GDP (Arriagada, 1989). The result was that university enrolments grew from around 77,000 students in 1970 to 146,000 in 1973, i.e. an 89 per cent increase over three years. There is no data available on journalism education specifically. However, by 1975 this increase had been eroded by one-third, following the establishment of the dictatorship (Bernasconi & Rojas, 2003). Interestingly, although there was a significant growth in enrolment, the ratio of females enrolling did not change in comparison to males, as Figure 2 shows:

Year	Total Enrolment	Male	Female
1940	7,846	75	25
1940	14,917	64	36
1960	24,703	64	36
1970	76,976	62	38
1973	145,663	61	39

**Figure 2:** Total number university enrolments, Chile 1940-1973. Source: PIIE, (1984: vol.2, 582) in Brunner, 1984:6

Tertiary education reform had been conceived as an action, which affected both the cultural and economic conditions surrounding university education. Reform was not only pedagogical but also social, in terms of the significant increase in access to university for a working-class populace.

Changes in social structures within universities were one of the aspects of educational reforms that opened opportunities for the working class to participate in the production of knowledge and its circulation. It is notable that an intense radicalisation of university life was also occurring at this time.

The production of knowledge within universities was intensified. Mass media studies started to emerge as a response to the “scientific hegemony” (Hay, Harsin, Cohen & Mattelart, 2013) of the United States academia. Intellectual figures such as Mattelart and Richard played important roles in cultural and media studies and in the production of gender knowledge as academics and activists. An example of this production is the study by Mattelart in 1975 entitled, *Chile: The Feminine Side of the Coup or When the Bourgeoisie Take to the Streets*, which discusses the bourgeois use of Chilean cultural traditions that mobilised women against the *Unidad Popular*.

A major dislocation occurred in 1973 with the overthrow of the elected government and the establishment of a military junta, which lasted until 1989. Two of the five schools of journalism that existed at that time were closed during the dictatorship. The journalism schools that remained open were The Catholic University of Santiago, The Catholic University of the North and the University of Chile.

After the dictatorship came into effect, the military began to intervene in the running of journalism schools. As Emmanuel noted:

I enrolled at university in 1979 and finished in 1982. There was a lot of repression and there was a fearful atmosphere. We were always thinking that the person sitting next to us in class could be someone from the CNI<sup>5</sup> (National Centre of Information).

A new conception of journalism education then emerged, based on an ostensible depoliticisation of journalism training to focus solely on the transmission of technical elements. The military junta restricted the teaching of Marxism, of economic planning models and anything else that could be interpreted as a threat to the operation of the junta. This aim of depoliticising the universities was reached, but the military junta went further, by destroying notions of critical thinking which had begun to emerge in society. The military achieved this by attacking both the material production of knowledge and the producers of knowledge.

The cultural and educational blackout (González, 2011, p. 7) “experienced in Chile was not only suffered by the mass media industry but also in universities and political parties”. Knowledge production and the circulation of ideologies or thoughts different from those promoted by the military junta were censored. Any international debate about journalism education and social communication was henceforth ignored by the university system, including in the faculties of journalism and communication. Social themes such as gender were completely silenced. Instead, access to them became part of informal political education, as Maria recalls:

At that time (referring to study during the dictatorship) gender as a subject did not exist. They (referring to the military) took all the literature. No one talked about it. It was not a theme. Nothing! I was educated in gender through the women’s movement, outside academia. I was educated through the movement of socialist women. They brought a woman from the US. She did a course of feminist theory [...] within the parties, women started to talk about it, but it was related to the arrival of exiled women who had been living in Germany, Spain, the Netherlands, etcetera.

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<sup>5</sup> Chilean Secret Service Agency during Pinochet’s reign.

An explicit demonstration of the cultural and educational blackout was the burning of philosophical, literary, academic and political books after 1973 at the University of Chile. This burning was a symbolic act of taking control of the production of knowledge and limiting the order of knowledge to an order defined by the dictatorship (Mönckeberg, 2008). The book burning occurred in different moments and in different scenarios and locations. One of the most important book burning events happened on 23 September 1973 in a housing complex called San Borja, located in the capital, Santiago. According to Rama in Donoso (2013), the burning lasted 16 hours and television and newspapers publicised the burning. The burning was focused on destroyed everything containing the name of Marx or Lenin; magazines and newspapers supporting Salvador Allende and also literature that was understood to be Marxist or Socialist. Other important burning occurred at the University of Chile at the Faculty of medicine where the military burned all the books that “smelled of Marxism” (Interviewee Maria Fuentes 2003. Conversation panel at the University of Chile).

### **The last stab**

After enforcement of the dictatorship, a neoliberal economic order began to be implemented in Chile. The basis for the neoliberal orientation had its roots in the late 1970s. The economic philosophy of neoliberalism promoted the principle of the sanctity of private property and free market enterprise. The dictatorship was thereby given a template for economic reform, which was subsequently rolled out, reaching the tertiary education sphere at the start of the 1980s. The consequence for journalism education was that it would begin to be taught within private institutions.

In this context, the rules of university financing created in 1981, through the Decree in Force of Law No 4, released the state from economic responsibility for growth of the education system, introducing the competitive principle to universities, espoused as an element of progress and improvement (Arriagada, 1989).

The year 1981 marks the beginning of the restructure of tertiary education, including journalism education. The dictatorship launched a new education framework, but also a new model of journalism education that bypassed the faculty of social science, where journalism had been taught. Journalism education was

subsumed into the Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities and was temporarily stripped of its status as a university degree, being reduced to technical vocational training. This decision was reversed in 1986 when the faculty of social science and the journalism degree were reinstated and the degree of journalism was extended in duration to five years (González, 2003).

The loss by journalism education of its professional status was a step in its loss of professional identity and autonomy; the reinstatement, carried out as part of the reforms by the military regime, occurred in a neoliberal market-oriented context.

Meanwhile the Chilean Journalists' Professional Society, as well as all other professional societies, also suffered a blow, being reduced to simple voluntary associations, losing all legal power and status. The Chilean Journalists' Professional Society also lost its ethical privilege to defend and supervise the right to autonomy of journalism. The Decree Law 3.621, enacted on 7 February 1981, abrogated the requirement to have a degree and belong to the Journalists' Professional Society in order to work as a journalist. This meant that the production of information and knowledge could now be done outside of a professional framework.

The two decree laws of 1981 were instrumental in shaping the future of journalism education. Firstly, a potential education business niche had been opened for owners of the new private universities. This also involved an identity for journalism education based on responding to the needs of the market and the new markets that would open over the following decade. Underlying this, the influence of neoliberal ideology and its principles of privatisation and deregulation opened not only a new window of opportunity but also a new structure of knowledge production.

Secondly, the decree law also eliminated journalism from the status of university degree for six years and deregistered the Journalists' Professional Society, the status of which never fully recovered. This meant that the mass media industry became much more independent of the discipline. This was significant from the point of view of the construction of knowledge, with journalism losing its academic political status, it became destabilised as a professional career, becoming controlled almost exclusively by the vagaries of the market.

At this stage the training of journalists was caught in a cross-fire between two fundamental interests of the military junta. On the one hand, the military junta wanted to weaken the education of journalists, to halt the spread of socialist ideas and justify the junta's actions. On the other hand, journalism could be used as an important part of economic development in both the telecommunications and education industries. In other words, the dictatorship moved between an interest in control of immaterial production, to an interest in the development of material interests, which caused an internal conflict in terms of intentions, actions and interests.

In summary, during this stage, academic work had difficulties in establishing itself as an open and pluralistic field (Castellón 2006). These were hard years for universities and research in the field of communication. The political, economic and social changes of this later period of dictatorship involved constitutional changes. This meant that the changes were deeply embedded in institutional structures. However as Connell and Pearse (2015, p. 74) point out, "A structure of relations does not mechanically decide how people or groups act. That is the error of social determinism, and it is no more defensible than biological determinism. But a structure of relations certainly defines possibilities for action, and their consequences". In this case it applies to the production of knowledge as well as journalism practices. The identity of journalism education and journalism itself was destabilised, losing some conceptual and theoretical tools that had been developed prior to the coup. Journalism was limited in its ability to fight for press freedom or to fight for the survival of the journalism labour field (Mellado, 2009).

## **1986 – 2006: Re-professionalisation and modernisation**

### **Evolution**

As previously mentioned, the internal conflict within the military regime between an interest in the control of immaterial production and an interest in the development of material interests intensified during this period. There was a conflict between the imperative to liberate the education market and keeping the production of knowledge and information restricted to the interests of the regime. This provoked an inevitable acknowledgement of journalism education as a

professional education. The regime therefore decided to allow journalism education to regain its academic status, which implied that whoever wished to become a journalist should attend a university and get a degree. This change meant that universities were understood as necessary providers of a service with specialised skills based on theoretical or scientific knowledge.

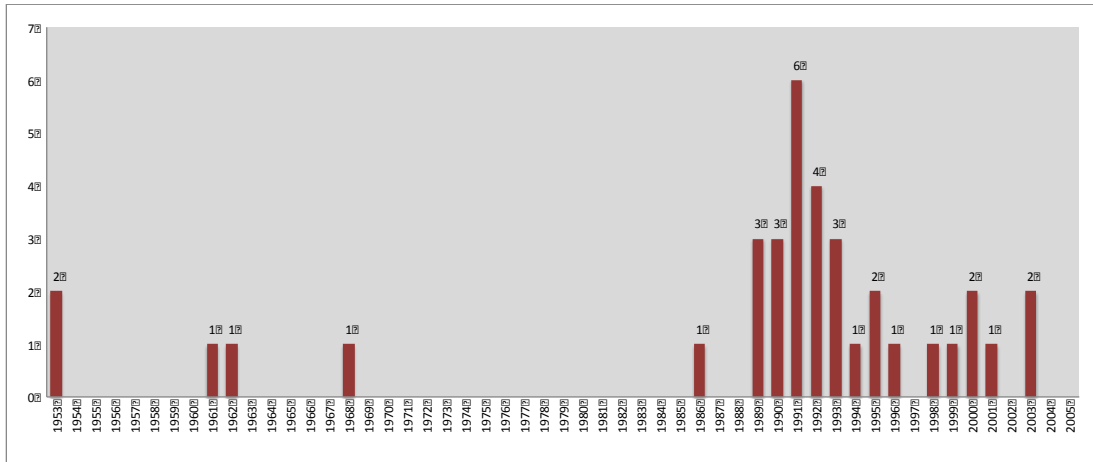
The year 1986 was an important one for journalism education as this was the year journalism education regained its professional status. The source of this regained status was the reestablishment of the degree of journalism in Chile. The revived academic status also returned a social legitimacy to the occupation. However, this regained status did not extend to the re-establishment of a professional society with all its concomitant rights.

During this period, the context in which journalism education evolved also became dynamic. A number of changes occurred in political and technological terms. Politically, a democratic process was established, with the dictatorship coming to an end; and new technologies began to appear, such as the internet, cable television, mobile telephone communication and others.

The expansion and evolution of tertiary education in journalism education was characterised by:

- a) Opening of new schools of journalism at private universities.
- b) Increase in the creation of programs of journalism education within the universities.
- c) Growth in numbers of students, centred in undergraduate studies.
- d) Dominance of women within journalism education.
- e) Incorporation of gender studies on a very small scale.

a) The opening of new schools of journalism at private universities



**Figure 3:** Creation of Journalism Schools, 1953-2006. **Source:** Council of Higher Education. Ministry of Education. Chile, 2007.

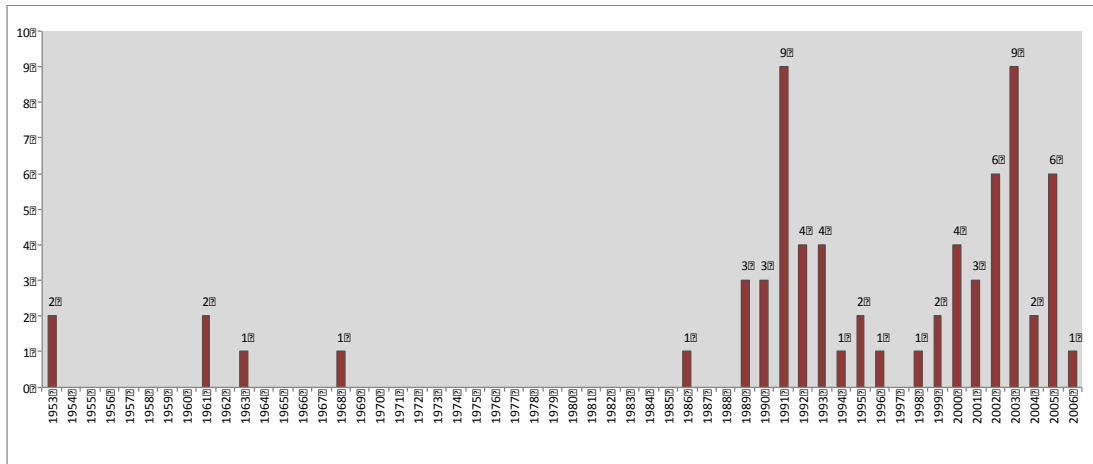
As Figure 3 shows, creation of journalism schools was especially dynamic at the beginning of the period 1989 to 1993, reaching a maximum rate of six new schools created in 1991. Between 1993 and 2003 the rate of schools opening declined somewhat, but the process was still active. A total of 31 journalism schools were opened in the period 1986 to 1993. Of these, two belonged to public universities, two were private with a State contribution, while 27 were in private universities.

b) The increase in the creation of programs of journalism education within the universities

The creation of “programs”<sup>6</sup> of journalism education within the universities had different phases to the opening of schools of journalism, as Figure 4 illustrates.

<sup>6</sup> To open a journalism school, it is necessary to open a program. However, one journalism school may deliver more than one program. I would understand “journalism program” to be equivalent to a degree structure. It can be implemented in different schedules and in different geographical regions or States. It is common for universities to run both morning and evening programs.





**Figure 4:** *Creation of Programs of Journalism Schools, 1953-2006.* **Source:** *Council of Higher Education. Ministry of Education. Chile, 2007.*

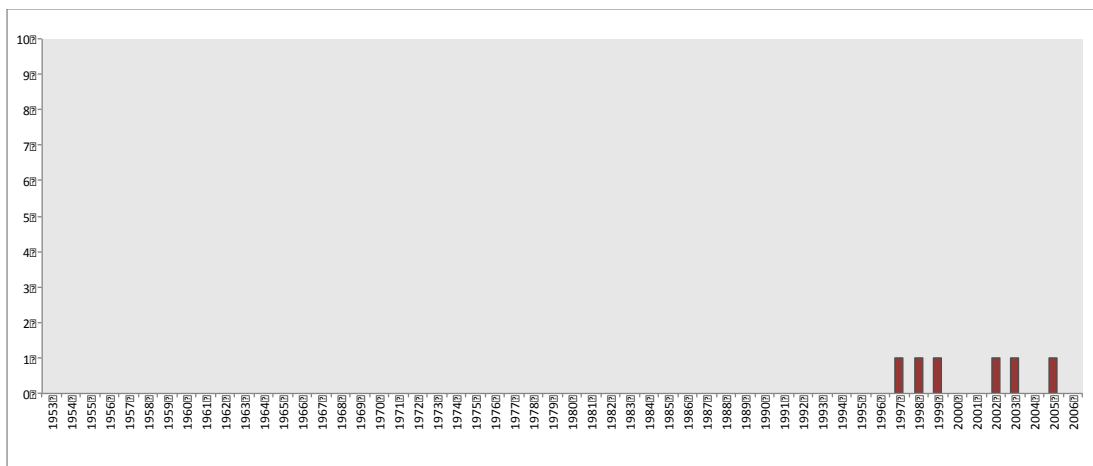
In this process there were two phases of growth. The first phase, from 1986 to 1996, is effectively equivalent to the opening of the schools of journalism. There were 28 new programs of journalism education in 24 universities. However the second phase, from 1999 to 2006, highlights a new strategy of the universities: increasing the number of programs rather than of independent schools. During this phase, a total of 34 new programs of journalism education were created, while in the same period only seven schools of journalism were opened. The fact that the total number of programs of journalism education (68) was almost double the total number of schools opened (36) is due to several universities offering the degree simultaneously at different campuses and with different schedules.

The period 1989 to 2006 marked a proliferation of new programs within established universities. This proliferation can be seen as an economic strategy by the universities to ensure the growth of the journalism education industry and diversify their business. The opening of new universities gave an opportunity for political and religious diversity to re-emerge in the provision of university education. Individuals and groups aligned to political ideologies (including left-wing ideologies) and religions had the opportunity to re-enter the provision of education in the framework of the market; to run an education business. However, the tertiary education sector was influenced by market discipline. Consequently, private left-wing universities were not economically viable and were shut down within a few years. Examples of those universities were University of Arts and Communication

Sciences (ARCIS) campus Castro and Punta Arenas, linked to the Communist Party and the University of the Republic, linked to the Masonic Lodge.

c) A growth centred in undergraduate studies

The strong development of journalism education during this period was limited to undergraduate degrees in universities. As Figure 5 shows, postgraduate studies in journalism education in Chile started in 1997 and from 1997 to 2006, only six Masters programs had been opened and no PhDs. The development of postgraduate studies during this period had been intermittent and not significant in comparison to the opening of the schools (and undergraduate programs) of journalism.



**Figure 5:** *Creation of Programs of Master of Communication, 1953-2006.* **Source:** Council of Higher Education. Ministry of Education. Chile, 2012.

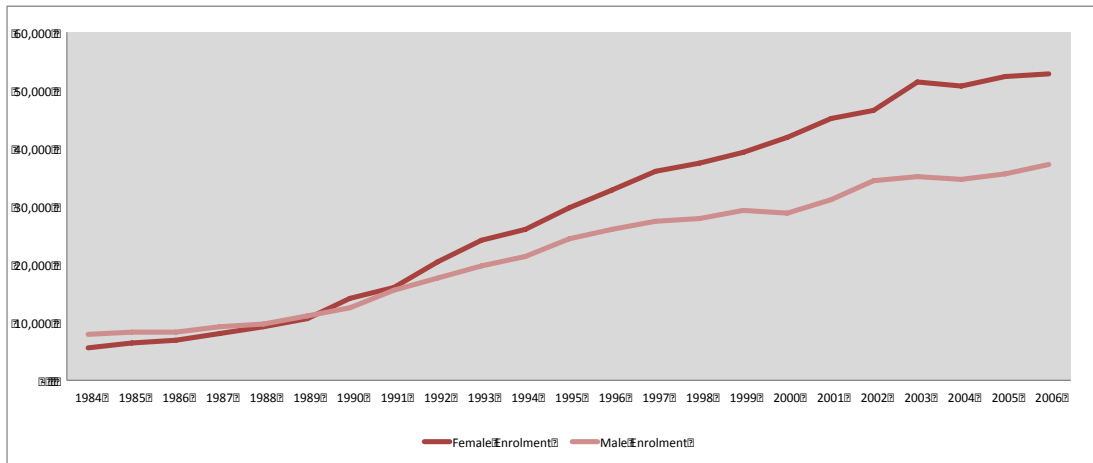
The evolution of Chilean journalism education within the education institutions suggests that journalism education had been treated by the institutions primarily as a strategy for the development of the education-supply market. This was a more important logic than the development of a body of knowledge.

d) Dominance of women within journalism education.

The strong development of journalism education occasioned a change in the gender composition of the undergraduate degree of journalism education. A predominance of female enrolments occurred during this period.

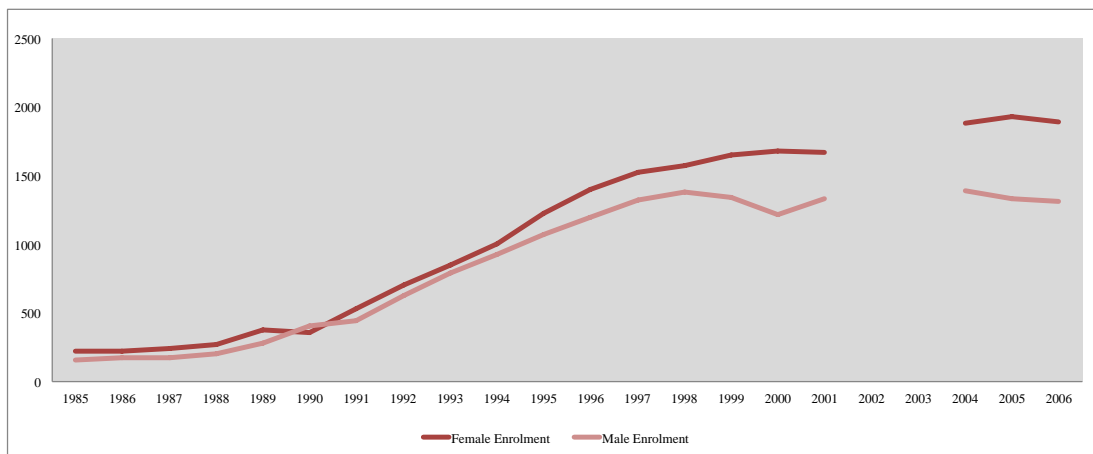
There is no continuous data available desegregated by degrees for all universities, public and private. However, data provided by the Ministry of Education on the

number of enrolments in Social Science (Figure 6), which includes journalism education, shows female enrolments increased more rapidly and were higher than male enrolments over those years.



**Figure 6:** Total Enrolment of Students in Social Science, 1984-2006. **Source:** Council of Higher Education. Ministry of Education. Chile, 2012.

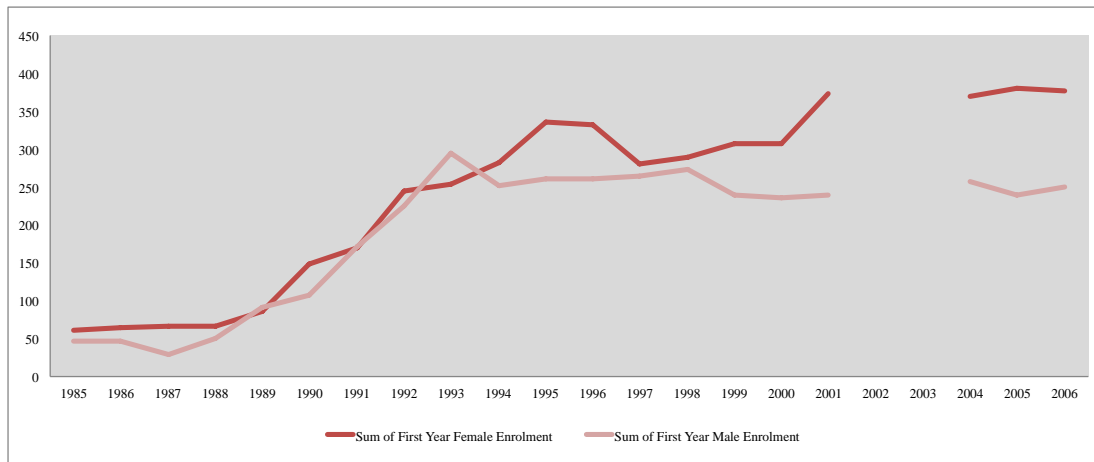
The data available specifically on journalism education was incomplete and included only the 25 public universities that belonged to The Council of Higher Education, the institution that coordinates Chilean public universities. As Figure 7 illustrates, total enrolment showed a slight predominance of female students from 1985, which increased in 1995 and remained until the end of the period.



**Figure 7:** Total Enrolment per year of Students Social Science, 1985-2006. Public universities. **Source:** Council of Higher Education. Ministry of Education. Chile, 2014. The absence of data is due to the lack information for these years.

Looking in detail at Figure 8), a sharp increase in male first-year enrolments can be seen from 1990 to 1993, remaining stable for a period of five years and then

continuing to rise.



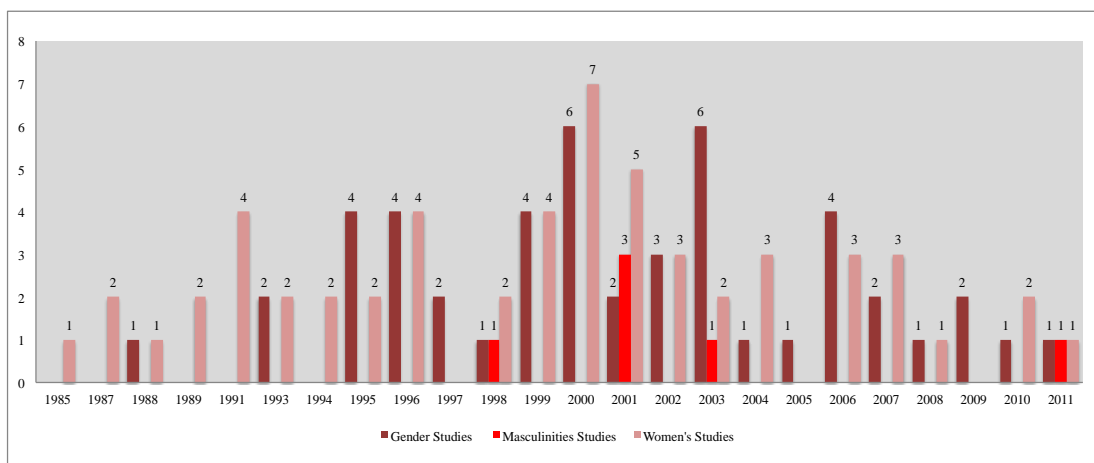
**Figure 8:** *Enrolment of First Year Students Social Science, 1985-2006.* Source Council of Higher Education. Ministry of Education. Chile, 2014.

The year 1990 was important in terms of the incorporation of gender as a public policy in the context of the democratisation of the state. A program was created by the government in 1990 called Management of Quality of the State (PMG), which was an instrument to support the management of public services, aiming to improve the overall management of public policies. In this context and as an intention to close the gender gap in the public sphere, Patricio Aylwin, President at that time, decided to include gender mainstreaming as part his political agenda. PMG incorporated gender (PMGG) as a variable to measure within public policies including tertiary education. It had the objective to institutionalise gender within tertiary education, which included the institutionalisation of gender studies, the incorporation of gender indicators and scholarships for women, among other measures.

These state measures helped to foster the predominance of women in tertiary education. However, the dominance of women in journalism education did not translate into the workforce while men remained predominant there. Lecaros, Dusillant and Mir (2000) point out that 54 per cent of journalists were male and 46 per cent female. In 2004 the report, *National Journalism 2004*, published by the Journalism School of Alberto Hurtado University, interviewed 323 journalists who were reporters and editors and noted that 66 per cent were men. The most significant difference between the sexes was in roles such as editors and executives.

e) Incorporation of gender studies on a very small scale

The database of research funded by The National Fund for Scientific and Technological Development (FONDECYT), the most important institution that funds university research, indicates that, from a total of the 10,877 research studies funded from 1985 to 2011, only 110 were related to gender studies, masculinities or women's studies. No research relating to journalism education, gender or women's studies or masculinities was found for this period. As Figure 9 shows, during this period 1985 to 2011, there was a growth of research that started in 1991 and had its peak in 2000, decreasing drastically in 2008, showing no growth in the next years. The predominant studies were women's studies, although gender studies have seen growth since 1995.



**Figure 9:** Gender Studies, 1985-2011. **Source:** Council of Higher Education. Ministry of Education. Chile, 2014.

From 1985 to 1995 most of the research studies done were related to women's studies, especially in the field of medical technology. As Figure 10 shows, this trend changed in 1995 when gender studies grew within the field of social science. The change is explained by the arrival of democracy that, according to Berrios (2005), allowed gender studies to be included in the university curricula, overtaking women's studies.

	1985	1987	1988	1989	1991	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	Grand Total
Humanities								1		1	1	2	5	1	1	2	1		2	1			3	2	23
Gender Studies											1		1			1			1				1	1	6
Masculinities Studies																1									1
Women's Studies								1			1	2	4	1	1		1		1	1			2	1	16
Medical technology	1	2	1	1	3	2	2	1	3		1	1	2	5	2	1	2		2	1	1	1			35
Gender Studies													1				1						1		3
Masculinities Studies														1											1
Women's Studies	1	2	1	1	3	2	2	1	3		1	1	1	4	2	1	1		2	1	1				31
Social science			1	1	1	2		4	5	1	2	5	6	4	3	6	1	1	3	3	1	1		1	52
Gender Studies			1			2		4	4	1	1	4	4	2	3	5		1	3	2	1	1			39
Masculinities Studies											1			2										1	4
Women's Studies				1	1				1			1	2				1	1		1					9
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>110</b>

**Figure 10:** Gender Studies by area of knowledge OECD classification, 1985-2011. **Source:** Council of Higher Education. Ministry of Education. Chile, 2014.

## Modernisation

The specific process of modernisation, initiated in the 1980s by the military regime, was intensified with the advent of formal democracy in 1989. However, this did not see the mass media industry consequently acquire a commitment to the promotion of democracy as a government system. The mass media industry increasingly focused on its own interests.

As Tironi and Sunkel (1993) indicate:

The introduction of the liberalisation dynamic in the mass media responds to market economic motives – i.e., the need to sync with the aspirations of the audience – rather than a political commitment to freedom or democracy. It also becomes unsustainable to the mass media industry and universities, the contradiction between the expression of economic freedoms, which is the fruit of modernisation, and restriction to the authoritarian logic on the political level.

Tironi and Sunkel (1993) proposed that the process of modernisation in the mass media industry that was promoted by the authoritarian regime as an economic strategy was confined by its own ambition to make profit. This caused an inconsistency between a necessary freedom on the economic plane, versus the operating restrictions at the political level. Politics ultimately became subservient to the market; social issues were considered fixable by market forces, where the final beneficiary was described as the consumer, user, customer or client. Thus the schools of journalism education transitioned from having students to having “clients” (Mönckeberg, 2005).

As Mönckeberg (2005) reveals, the relationships between universities, the media and the political world narrowed with the privatisation of universities in Chile during this period. This did not occur due to any kind of political struggle, but as part of economic imperatives. The economic connection between managers and owners of higher education institutions, media, political parties and religious groups created an interdependent market.

In summary, this stage is characterised by an increase in private universities, the establishment of new programs, and the offer of different modalities of education. The diversification of the market became a key to development of the industry of journalism education in the market.

The phenomenon of privatisation involving the entire education system provoked an overlap of interests and connections between the different institutions. A new order was established, which defined intellectual production. Those institutions that could be considered "alternative" at this stage were not shut down by the dictatorship. Instead, they were closed by the force of the market that effectively regulated them.

Mellado (2009) argues that:

The 21st century is the period where journalism education faced a big crisis of identity, product of the new necessity of the market, versus the development that journalism education had reached.

Arguably, the identity crisis for journalism developed at the beginning of the 1980s as a product of political and economic decisions that changed the structure of journalism education and its relationship with other institutions involving journalism education. It seems that this identity crisis was never overcome, due to greater interest in the development of a journalism education market over improving and developing the discipline. It also appears that the mass media industry did not develop in terms of content. I argue, therefore, that the crisis that journalism education faced during the 21st century appears to have been a confrontation of interests between two markets: the journalism education market and the mass media industry market (more discussion in Chapters: 3 and 6).

## 2006-2013: The intensification

In the period from 2006 to 2013, the progress of journalism education can be seen as an extension of the previous period with respect to the education market and the consumption of education. During this stage, the key to the development of the journalism education market was the market's diversification. The period was characterised by the opening of undergraduate and postgraduate programs and modalities.

While no new journalism schools were opened in this period, a number of new programs, modalities and postgraduate studies were established. The establishment of postgraduate studies also increased and new services were offered, particularly those intended to meet the demands of people working during the day who wished to attain a journalism degree or a higher academic qualification.

Figure 11 indicates the diversification of and increases in postgraduate studies programs in communication and journalism from 2005.

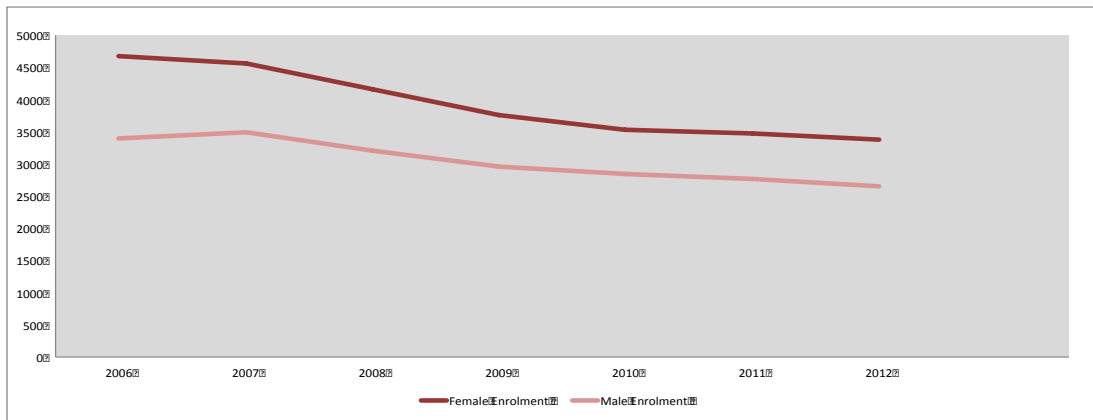
Total Masters Degree	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Magister en Ciencias de la Comunicación	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	2	3
Magister en Comunicación		1	1	1	2	3	3	2	3
Magister en Comunicación Comercial y Creatividad Estratégica							1	1	
Magister en Comunicación Creativa						1	1	1	1
Magister en Comunicación e Interculturalidad						1	1		1
Magister en Comunicación Educativa	1	1	1				1		
Magister en Comunicación Estratégica	1			1	2	2	3	4	3
Magister en Comunicación Estratégica Digital									1
Magister en Comunicación Estratégica y Branding						1	1	1	1
Magister en Comunicación Estratégica y Marketing Corporativo						1	1		1
Magister en Comunicación Estratégica y Negocios				1	1	1	1	1	1
Magister en Comunicación Estratégica y Responsabilidad Social							1	1	1
Magister en Comunicación Integrada				1	1	1	1	1	1
Magister en Comunicación Política		1		1	1	1	1	1	1
Magister en Comunicación Social	3	4	4	1	2	1	1	2	2
Magister en Comunicación y Ciencias Políticas						1	1	1	1
Magister en Comunicación, Educación y Nuevas Tecnologías						1	1		1
Magister en Comunicaciones y Políticas Públicas						1	1	1	1
Magister en Periodismo						1	2	2	2
Magister en Periodismo Político			1	1			1		
Master en Comunicación Gestión y Marketing	1	1							
Máster en Gestión de la Comunicación Estratégica						1	1		

**Figure 11:** Total master's degrees in Journalism and Communication in public and private universities, 2005-2013. **Source:** Council of Higher Education. Ministry of Education. Chile, 2014.

Since 2005, the data available includes private and public universities around the country. As Figure 12 shows, women still predominated in this period. However, total enrolments decreased during this specific period, which can be attributed to the saturation of the market at this time. This drop in enrolments followed a call by The Journalists' Professional Society for students not to enrol in journalism education. The results of research by the Chilean Higher Education Council indicated that, in



2005, Chile had 10,769 journalists while only 1,700 were working in mass media organisations and 44 per cent of recent graduates were unemployed (CSE, 2007).



**Figure 12:** Total Enrolment per year of Journalism Education, 2006-2012. **Source:** Council of Higher Education. Ministry of Education. Chile, 2014.

During this period the state played a slightly more active role in the repositioning of journalism education as part of the development of an educational system, allocating financial support to promote research and journalism education. However, this support was unbalanced in relation to the support given to other disciplines. The area of communication and ICT benefited only by one per cent of the total amount of disciplinary allocations (Castellón, 2006). This suggests that there was an interest to maintain and intensify the economic aspect of education but not necessarily to develop scientific-investigative journalism education or to reposition the status of journalism education as a scientific discipline.

There were 7,709 journalists in the market in 2005 and 8,591 students of journalism (CSE, 2012). As a consequence, in 2007 the Chilean Council of Higher Education published a report on the teaching of journalism and the labour market. This research was the first to analyse the profile of journalists to determine the difficulties and the subsequent measures journalism education programs should take to confront a saturated journalism labour market and to generate a higher quality of journalism education.

The development of gender research was dramatically reduced from 2007 to 2011 by the FONDECYT program, as shown in Figure 9. During this period there was no research related to journalism education and gender; however, it is possible to find two research studies related to mass media and gender, which were done in 2008

and 2009, respectively. One of the studies by Mellado (2008) showed that: 60 per cent of men were working in areas of production of press content. Sixty per cent of women were working in corporate communication, not in leadership positions. Sixty per cent of teachers of journalism education were men.

There was a significant difference in terms of the distribution of journalists by sex depending on region. In Santiago, the capital of Chile, there was almost no difference in the percentage of men and women journalists. However, outside of Santiago, almost 60 per cent of journalists were men. In some regions the masculinisation of the practice of journalism was profound, such as in Calama, where seven out of 10 journalists were male. The masculinisation in some regions could be explained by the masculinisation of the workforce. There are few female journalists who work as teachers in journalism education.

Despite the advances made by women in journalism through the last two centuries, journalism as a field has remained male-dominated. As mentioned before, it is difficult to analyse the dynamics of gender due to the lack of research related to gender. However, the analysis of the field suggests that masculinity in its historical form has been dominant within the gender order.

### **General structure of curricula of journalism education**

Since the earliest days of journalism education in Chile the structure of curricula has been affected by technological advances as well as the political, social and economic context. From 1986 onwards it is possible to identify the emergence of a new curriculum structure, which has remained until the present. This involved a hybridisation of journalism, communication and public relations, which was expressed in the creation of the *Licenciatura*<sup>7</sup> of Communication within journalism. Most of the universities had required 10 semesters of study for students to be considered journalists. The exceptions were The Pontifical Catholic University of Valparaiso, The Pontifical Catholic University and the Aconcagua University, which had all required nine semesters.

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<sup>7</sup> Holder of a 4-6-year degree.

Semester 1	Semester 2	Semester 3	Semester 4	Semester 5	Semester 6	Semester 7	Semester 8	Semester 9	Semester 10		Year 1	Year 2	
<b>Bachelor of Communication</b> 4 Semesters Andrés Bello University				<b>Licenciatura</b> 8 Semesters Andrés Bello University Diego Portales University University of Chile University of Santiago				<b>Journalism Degree: Journalist</b> 10 Semesters Andrés Bello University Diego Portales University University of Chile University of Santiago		↔	Andrés Bello University <b>Master of:</b> Journalism and Politics Journalism and Management Video Production - Diego Portales University <b>Master of:</b> Strategic Communication Public Opinion Research		
<b>TITLE JOURNALISM DEGREE: JORNALIST</b> 10 semesters in total for all Universities											<b>MASTER</b>		
										<b>Combined Degree and Master</b>			

**Figure 13:** Structure of Journalism Degree. Diagram created by the researcher.

In Chile, undergraduate students of journalism education are able to obtain three types of qualification. These are the *Bachillerato*<sup>8</sup>, *Licenciatura* and the title of journalism degree. Only Andrés Bello University includes a *Bachillerato* of Communication (four semesters) as an offer within the degree. This is a curricular distinction but does not have any validity in educational terms in Chile. There are two types of *Licenciatura*: *Licenciatura* in Social Communication and *Licenciatura* in Communication. The difference between *Licenciaturas* is defined by the different emphases on social content within journalism education programs.

By Chilean standards, to be recognised as a journalist, students need to complete 10 semesters of study, which includes the *Licenciatura* (eight semesters), a specialisation and a thesis or minor thesis in the field (two semesters). However, in 2012 from the 45 journalism programs delivered in Chile, 37 provided the degree in 10 semesters, four in eight semesters, three in nine and one in 12. This variability of the programs in terms of time is related to the intensity of the programs. The duration of a *Licenciatura* and degrees is not correlated with the quality of the education, but rather with its costs and efficiency.

Although all the universities offer a *Licenciatura* within the journalism education degree, the *Licenciatura* is not recognised by any workplace as a legitimate qualification for employment. To be able to be work and be called journalist, students must have graduated and obtained the title of journalist, which is equivalent to attaining a degree in journalism education plus a major. Therefore, to

<sup>8</sup> Comparable to the European Baccalaureate.

be a journalist is a grade in Chilean academic terms. The title of the degree of journalism education is *Periodismo* (Journalism).

There is a special situation that occurs when a student finishes the courses but does not do the thesis. In those cases the student is considered *egresado*, which means that he/she holds a bachelor but has not finished the degree. Therefore that student has not graduated. In the Chilean context, students must finish courses and a thesis in order to be considered a graduate and consequently a journalist.

In terms of structure, journalism education degree courses in Chile are similar. Each program of journalism includes standard subjects, some predefined electives and a branch of units of specialisation.

Each degree in journalism education can be seen to reflect the diversity of the individuals who have founded the higher education institutions. The creation and expansion of private universities allowed for different groups, under the umbrella of freedom of teaching, to adapt the educative process to their particular political, religious, economic interests or doctrines.

## **Conclusion**

Journalism education in Chile has undergone a development and evolution, in interaction with institutional actors and historical events, which has helped to create its current situation. The interpretation of the evolution of journalism education has not been done in this thesis in simple chronological sequence. Although historically conditioned, the analysis has focused on significant facts and events in which journalism education has involved, resulting in a development of the subject over stages.

The reconstruction of the historical context of mass media development shows the complexity of the production of gender knowledge and the gender dynamics that underpin this production. The changes in political agendas, economic milieu and cultural dynamics have been key in reinforcing a specific gender order both within and outside the industry, constructing a social structure impregnated with gender stereotypes. The history shows how relevant the women's movement has been in provoking inflections in the gender order. However, the mass media industry has

ignored in the main the demands for a more equitable society, focusing mainly on maintaining a market that perpetuates a masculine gender order.

This analysis (in four stages) of the evolution of journalism education, allows us to identify two specific moments when journalism education has found itself in a clash of interests; in which its identity as a discipline and labour field has been destabilised. The first clash occurred during the second period, and was a clash between two fundamental interests of the military junta. On the one hand, the military junta wished to suppress the critical activity of journalists in order to stop the spread of socialist ideas and to justify the actions of the military junta. On the other hand, the junta wanted to use journalism as an important part of economic development in the telecommunications industry and the education industry.

The economic philosophy of neoliberalism promotes the principle of the sanctity of private property and free market enterprise. Under the dictatorship, this goal brought journalism education into a confrontation of interest between the control of immaterial production and of material interests. The dictatorship sought to eliminate ideological journalism in order to establish ‘economic journalism’.

A second clash occurred during the third period, involving a confrontation of interests between two markets: the market of journalism education and the market of the mass media industry. In this period, it was not authoritarianism that defined the field of action. It was the market that defined it.

This narrative demonstrates how the military dictatorship defined a structure of relationships, which in turn defined the possibilities and consequences of the action of journalism education as a discipline, a market and a profession.

For six years, journalism education lost its status as a university degree and was reduced to a less prestigious technical vocational training. No inclusion of gender issues was noted in this period. The constraint by the dictatorship can be read as a direct attack against the identity of journalism education and journalism itself, provoking a destabilisation and loss of some conceptual and theoretical tools that had been developed before the military coup. This isolated Chile from the region and the world in terms of development of the discipline of journalism but also in

terms of the generation of public policies based on rights and in the research of equity.

From 1990 to 2012 the neoliberal agenda was intensified, which incited a proliferation of new programs within established universities and a highly concentrated mass media industry. During this period, the first research was done which demonstrated the connection between journalism education and the labour market. It was also the first time that a profile of the journalist in Chile was created, which showed the predominance of males within the press area and the teaching of journalism, along with the imbalance of power positions between the sexes.

The restoration of democracy was favourable to the inclusion of gender as a public policy. Within the universities, this incorporation did have a positive repercussion in journalism education in terms of increasing the number of female student enrolments due to the scholarships available. However, the culture of mass media remained predominantly masculinised. The production of gender knowledge was marginal, while institutions assumed gender to be an indicator of management performance rather than a value of the culture.

The proliferation of universities can be seen as an economic strategy by the universities to ensure the growth of the journalism education industry. However, the opening of new universities gave an opportunity for political and religious diversity to re-emerge in the provision of university education. At this time the market was the framework that regulated the existence of universities. It was no longer the military regime that shut down the schools of journalism education. It was the market.

Gender dynamics were embedded in multiple ways. As the data shows, gender dynamics were in the culture, routine, practice and labour process of journalism education and journalism. Although women have progressively taken over the classroom of journalism education, this has not been enough to change the masculinised culture that pervades journalism not only as a profession but also as a cultural product.

Journalism education in Chile has been subject to market forces in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, where the industries of journalism education and mass media appear with no more connection than the market. This structuring of relations has left a gap in terms of the production of knowledge, which includes the production and circulation of gender knowledge. The question of gender has been largely silenced in this history. Political, economic and cultural issues generally appear disconnected from class and gender issues. However as this Chapter shows, the domain of journalism is nevertheless gendered.

## **Chapter 4: Mapping Gender in the Curriculum**

### **Introduction**

This Chapter provides a description and analysis of courses and units of study in full-time programs of journalism education within four universities in Santiago, Chile. The focus of analysis is on journalism education institutions that have delivered journalism education for many years, besides being the universities with the largest number of journalism education enrolments in Chile.

This Chapter aims to show the complexity of the dynamic of gender and the production and circulation of gender knowledge in journalism education. The Chapter uses institutions and their curricula as objects of study in order to understand the development of journalism education as well as the structure of relations that create and currently sustain journalism education.

Selected from an initial number of 34 universities, these case studies were chosen on the basis of specific criteria relating to type of institution, enrolments, willingness to participate, performance levels and size. They include two private universities and two public universities.

As pointed out in the methodology Chapter (Chapter 2), the case studies explore the following questions: a) What do the universities currently deliver? b) What is the approach to production and circulation of knowledge in the curricula of journalism education? c) Which forms of knowledge are promoted within contemporary journalism education as a discipline? d) Does gender knowledge form part of journalism education units?

The curriculum data used in the analysis is understood as a cultural product in the development of knowledge, particularly in terms of gender. Therefore, the curriculum products were analysed in terms of their structure, change dynamics and the production and circulation of knowledge.

The current study analyses the course structures of journalism education in Chile over a period of four curricular changes. This analysis used the categories created



by Adams and Duffield (2005) (see Chapter 2). To report results, the Chapter was divided into four sections where individual cases are presented.

## **Diego Portales University**

### **The Beginning**

Diego Portales University is a private university founded in 1982 as an offshoot of the Instituto de Promoción, Mercado y Ventas (Institute of Sales and Promotion) (IPEVE). IPEVE was created by Manuel Montt Balmaceda in 1968 and was linked to La Sociedad de Fomento Fabril (The Association for the Promotion of Manufacturing). Manuel Balmaceda was a delegate from the business sector and an official of manufacturing's peak body; he became a founding member and rector of Diego Portales University.

Teaching began at Diego Portales University in March 1983, with three faculties: Administrative Sciences (Commercial Engineering and Engineering Accountant Enforcement Administration, Marketing and Finance), Law and Psychology. In 1986 the Faculty of Communication was created and the degree of journalism education was initiated. Journalism education was the only degree delivered as a part of the Faculty of Communication until 1995 when Publicity and Literature were incorporated as degrees within the Faculty. This university only offers a day program (full-time) for the journalism education degree.

Although the university was linked to the business community, in order to emerge during the military regime it utilised the word pluralism in its motto (Tradition, Innovation, Pluralism). As Mönckeberg (2005) points out, this academic pluralism was key not only to its remaining in operation but also to providing a journalism school different to the Catholic University and the University of Chile, the only other two universities delivering journalism education at the time.

### **Admission criteria and prices**

To be admitted to journalism education at the Diego Portales University, students needed to have completed high school and passed the PSU (university selection

test), which is the central test in the admission process for universities in Chile.<sup>9</sup> The minimum score needed by a student to enter is 500 in the PSU and no school score is defined.

Scores have remained steady over the last seven years (see Figure 14).



**Figure 14:** Scores PSU for Journalism Education at Diego Portales University 2006-2012. **Source:** Council of Higher Education. Ministry of Education. Chile, 2012.

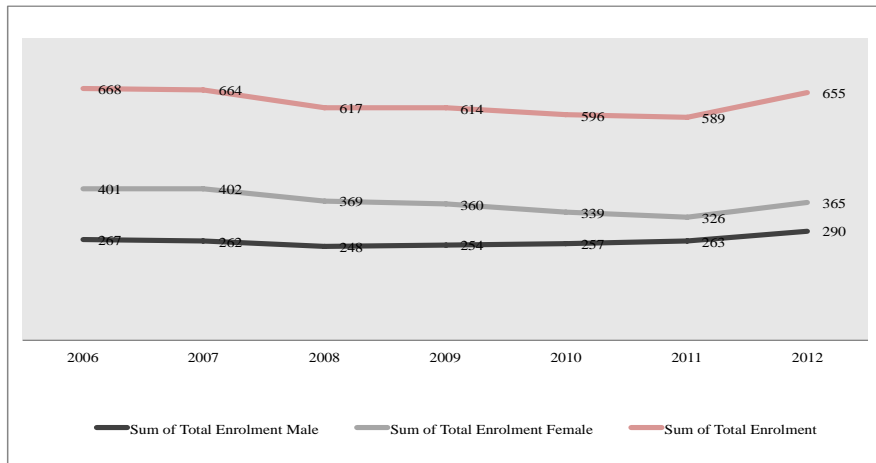
The cost of the enrolment for 2012 was \$323,000 Chilean pesos; while the annual fee was \$3,616,000 pesos and the graduation fee \$180,730 pesos. This is equivalent to approximately \$650, \$7,200 and \$360 Australian dollars respectively.<sup>10</sup>

Currently, Diego Portales University is one of the most important private universities in terms of numbers of enrolments and prestige. The university includes nine faculties and offers 34 degrees. In 2012 a total of 13,167 students were enrolled, of which Chilean students comprised 6,706 male, and 6,461 female students, while 141 were international students. During the last six years it has been the private university with the highest number of enrolments in journalism education, with 655 students in 2012. As Table 15 shows, after 2007 there was a slight drop in the number of enrolments, recovering considerably in 2011. However, enrolments did not recover to the level of 2006. As explained in Chapter 3, this drop in enrolments followed a call by the Chilean Journalists' Professional Society for

<sup>9</sup> Each university sets a different rank of entry scores. Generally public universities set a higher rank of score than private universities.

<sup>10</sup> Australian dollar exchange rate as at February 2012.

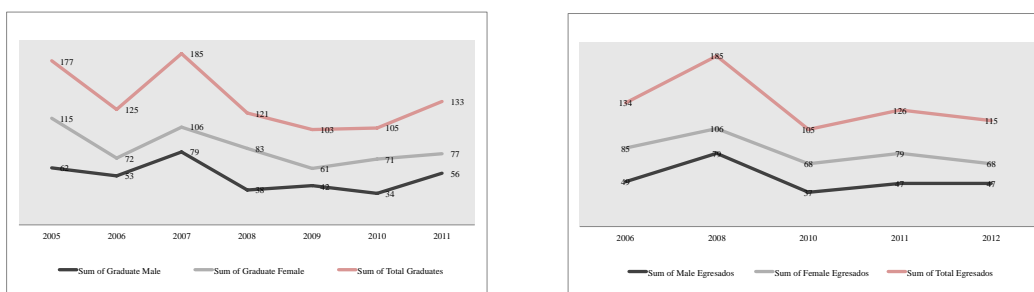
students not to enrol in journalism education due to a saturated market. This saturated market implied disappointment for students in terms of what higher education could mean for their employability and social mobility.



**Figure 15:** Total Journalism Enrolment at Diego Portales University 2006-2012. **Source:** Council of Higher Education. Ministry of Education. Chile, 2012.

In terms of graduates, Diego Portales is the private university with the highest number of graduates in journalism education from 2006 to 2012, with a total of 949 students over six years. In spite of this success, there is an important difference between the number of students who start, those who finish the *Licenciatura* and those who actually graduate.

Figure 16 shows graduate and *egresados* numbers over a period of seven years. The difference between graduates and *egresados* varies by year. In general, a marginal increase in *egresados* is observed against graduates.



**Figure 16:** Scores of graduates and egresados at Diego Portales University 2006-2012. **Source:** Council of Higher Education. Ministry of Education. Chile, 2012.

The number of graduates is dramatically lower than the number of new enrolments (it is assumed that not all students will finish in exactly five years but the ratio of

students finishing late should be fairly constant). This can be seen in a longitudinal study of the students enrolling in 2006. Of 668 students enrolling from this cohort, only 133 graduated in 2010, i.e. 15 per cent. In terms of sex, there is no significant difference between males and females who do not complete the total process from entrance to finish. The percentage of non-completion in journalism education is no different to what occurs in other degrees. According to the data provided by the National Council of Education (2012), of the total first-year enrolments in Chile during 2006 in 51 universities, 12 per cent of the total students graduated in 2010<sup>11</sup>.

An alarming situation arose for journalism education students in 2007. The Journalists' Professional Society reported that, of those students who had completed and obtained the journalism degree, 70 to 80 per cent were then unemployed or working in fields unrelated to journalism (CSE, 2007). Although there is no official information about unemployed journalists in Chile, a study done in the Bio-Bio Region of Chile by the journalists and researchers Mellado and Del Valle (2008), showed that 65 per cent of journalists were working in other fields, such as organisational communication, teaching and independent audio-visual production. Sixty per cent of women were working in organisations related to communication while over 60 per cent of men were working in press journalism.

### **Teaching staff characteristics**

The Diego Portales University as a whole has 1,738 teachers within the 34 degrees it offers (Table 17). Most teachers are paid by the hour. Eleven per cent have obtained a doctoral degree and 33 per cent a masters. These proportions are similar for journalism education. Hourly (casual) teacher numbers have increased significantly over the years.

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<sup>11</sup> While it is assumed that not all students finish in exactly five years, the ratio of students finishing late remains fairly constant.

Type of Contract	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Full time Teachers	90	108	128	173	269	278	279	316
Part time Teachers	75	113	87	188	130	143	182	153
Hourly Teachers	977	1046	1117	1047	1235	1269	1250	1269
<b>Total</b>	1142	1267	1332	1408	1634	1690	1711	1738

Type of Contract	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Full time Doctors	26	30	34	50	83	94	99	99
Part time Doctors	14	18	14	32	12	10	16	21
Hourly Doctors	88	90	73	64	56	87	101	107
<b>Total</b>	128	138	121	146	151	191	216	227

Type of Contract	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Full time Masters	40	46	59	84	114	107	103	122
Part time Masters	33	41	29	83	56	57	73	55
Hourly Masters	282	307	291	316	375	419	410	427
<b>Total</b>	355	394	379	483	545	583	586	604

**Figure 17:** *Type of teachers contracted by Diego Portales University 2005-2012.* Source: Council of Higher Education. Ministry of Education. Chile, 2012.

According to the Diego Portales web page for journalism education, the number of educators during 2013 comprised a total of 99 teachers, with 69 males and 30 females. Only 38 per cent held a master's degree, comprised of 29 male teachers and 10 female teachers. Nine per cent were doctorates. Of the nine PhDs, two were female and seven male. The contents of PhDs covered areas such as history (4), law (1), technology (1), communications (2) and literature (1). Although it was not feasible to access information about the type of contract that teachers in the program held, the university-wide pattern suggests that most of the teachers were teachers employed on an hourly basis, with only a few being full-time employees.

### **Annexed institutions and initiatives**

The Faculty of Communication and Arts has created annexed institutions and initiatives that maximise the advantage of the faculty in terms of research. The following institutions are part of, or related to, the Journalism School.

- The Centre of Publication and Research (CIP). This centre brings together academics from the faculty carrying out research in the areas of journalism, communications and literary publications such as novels and poetry. The lines of research are: mass media and audience, journalistic research and patrimony and twentieth century world literature. The Centre publishes books, articles and studies. An example is *The Legionaries of Christ*, a book exploring the history of the legionaries of Christ in Chile and their

connection with sexual abuse, right-wing parties, their purchase of universities and connections with Chilean entrepreneurs. The contents of the lines of journalism research focus on persons or institutions. As Figure 18 shows, there are three books focused on the history of women and seven on men. In the case of the line of mass media and audience, there are five research studies with only one related to gender. In terms of researchers, from a total number of eight researchers who work in these lines, five are male and three female.

Journalism Research	
Male	7
Female	3
Others	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>18</b>
Mass media and Audience research	
Gender Study	1
Others	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>5</b>
Researchers	
Male	5
Female	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>

**Figure 18:** CIP lines of research. Diego Portales University 2005-2012. **Source:** Diego Portales University. Chile, 2012.

- *Dossier*. Dossier is a magazine published by the Faculty of Communication and Art. It is published twice a year and its main objective is to review, analyse and track trends about the world of journalism and its audience. Teachers and managers of the faculty constitute the editorial committee, while students, journalists and researchers are able to publish. The director is a female journalist, and the associate directors are two male and one female journalist. The editorial board has eight male journalists and three female journalists.
- Tank is a strategic communication agency created for the Journalism School. This institution provides communication consulting services with non-governmental organisations. No project in journalism and gender has been developed.
- Audiovisual Lab is a project of the Journalism School funded through a Bicentennial Award. This project started in 2012 and involved students in their 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> years of study. It is a space where students are able to discuss their questions and replicate professional life. This project uses the

media of documentary and photography. Most of the documentaries focus on families from different economic statuses and generations. The audiovisual project analyses the family dynamics of ordinary people. Nine of the documentaries have focused on women, nine on men and three on family. The documentary uses the life-history format.

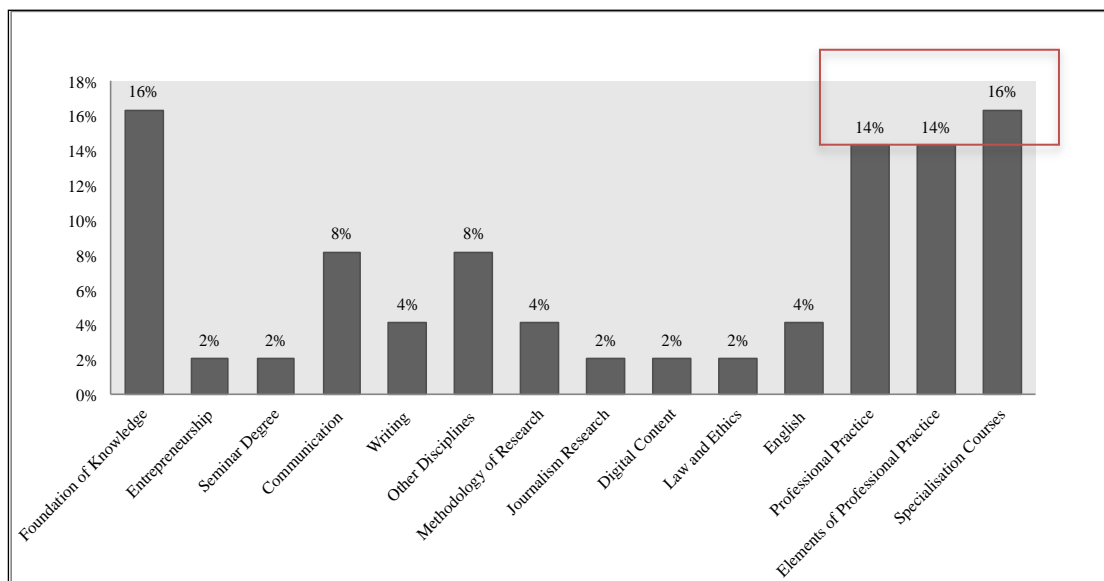
- In addition, the university offers seminars or documents linked to UNESCO, based on an initiative called UNESCO lecture. The initiative attempts to integrate issues that are of concern to UNESCO, such as gender and childhood. In 2011 the university promoted a new document launched by UNESCO called *Por un Periodismo no Sexista* (Toward Non-Sexist Journalism).
- There is also research by the Faculty of Communication and funded by the FONDECYT in 2008 into childhood, television and everyday life. This was a qualitative study including boys and girls from different social statuses.

### **Mapping the curriculum: Course overview**

The duration of the journalism education degree at Diego Portales is 10 semesters. The course structure includes compulsory units, electives, and units and electives of specialisation. At the end of the eighth semester students are able to obtain the *Licenciatura*; at the end of semester 10 students qualify for the degree with the title *Periodismo* (Journalism).

Of the 53 units offered by the program from 2004 to 2012, 41 were compulsory. The remaining courses belonged to elective units, where four courses corresponded to general electives and eight to specialisation electives.

Figure 19 shows units assigned to 14 categories of knowledge (see Chapter 2). Professional Practice is the dominant category, with 44 per cent of the total units delivered, including: Television, Radio, Production of News, Television Journalism, Report Workshop, Photographic Journalism, Communication Skills and Editing.



**Figure 19:** Categories of units offered by Diego Portales University - excluding internship. Source: Diego Portales University. Chile, 2012.

Units belonging to the category ‘Foundation of Knowledge’ are related to Chilean and Contemporary History, General and International Economy, Political System, Aesthetics and Modernity, and Trends of Thoughts. Contents of this category aim to develop cognitive disciplines related to theoretical aspects of a wide body of knowledge.

The units that integrate the categories of ‘Professional Practice’ and ‘Elements of Professional Practice’ included Television, Radio, Investigative Journalism, Press Workshop, Interviewing Workshop, Editing, Photographic and Digital Technologies. Units related to these categories focus on journalism as a practice as well as a theory.

The category of ‘Communication’ clusters courses related to Society and Communication; Audience Studies and Studies of Public Opinion. This category could be merged with the category ‘Other Disciplines’, where units such as Public Relations, Advertising, and Marketing and Entrepreneurship are present. The connection can be made because both categories are focused strongly on mass media communication. The units that integrate these categories provide students with specific skills in disciplines not specifically journalistic.



Results suggest that Diego Portales University places high value on professional knowledge with theoretical components emphasising the vocational purpose of education. The vocational orientation inducts students into a field of practice where theoretical knowledge supports practice. This result suggests a tendency towards instrumentalisation of knowledge.

Unit descriptions focus explicitly on the type of technical and professional skill that will be developed and also about the contents that are to be delivered in each unit. Although there are contents related to the 'Foundation of Knowledge' category, these contents are used to underpin journalism practice. This can be seen in the organisation of the units, which are designed to ensure that students are "work ready" (Wheelahan, 2010, p. 3).

Further analysis of unit outlines suggests that content is not only comprised of technical pedagogical components but also political ideological components. In the case of units related to 'Foundation of Knowledge', such as History of Chile, Press Workshop, Journalism Workshop, Economy, Debate and Argumentation and Political Systems, some teachers seize the opportunity provided by theoretical knowledge to establish an explicitly ideological and political position. An example of this is History of Chile, where the teacher's approach to content is biased to the democratic process and economic development focused on the centre-left coalition. Likewise, it is acknowledged that the military coup ruptured the democratic order in 1973.

This contrasts with units related to the category of 'Professional Practice' or 'Enterprise', such as Management of Mass Media, Publicity and Marketing, Technology, Strategic Communication, and Business Management. These content are presented as an ongoing narrative, and are never reflective or interpretative. While the content here may appear depoliticised, their implicit politics will be discussed later.

There is not one compulsory unit identifiable by a gender term in the title. References to gender within the unit descriptors were found in only two of the 43 units. Only one subject, called TV Journalism, incorporated gender as content, discussing how to report without sexist language and arguing for respecting the

audience. In the unit called Media 1: Press, there is no explicit gender content. Nevertheless, this unit includes an activity that uses magazines, and requires students to know the criteria for selection of gender content in magazines.

Diego Portales University delivers three types of elective units.

a) General electives: These are defined within three areas: communication, journalism and audiovisual language, and narrative and management. General electives are part of a university program called Minor Program. This program allows students to gain a certificate that accredits general competence in one of the three areas of knowledge.

b) Journalism skills electives: These are exclusively electives within the journalism education program, delivered in the seven and eighth semesters. These electives are related to communication and mass media but from a social perspective. The electives offered are: Education and Communication, and Sports Journalism. In these electives different social issues are developed. Some of the themes developed within these units are: discriminatory language, HIV, educational television, and education and culture. There is no thematising of gender relations or gender issues, though these may be seen as relevant content in practice.

c) Electives of Specialisation: Electives or optional specialisation units are delivered exclusively during semesters nine and ten. No compulsory units are delivered in these semesters. Electives of Specialisation units are related specifically to two areas: one is focused on vocational knowledge while the other is more critical and reflective. Electives of Specialisation such as TV-Internet, Economic Journalism, Screenplay, TV Production and Political Marketing, are focused on vocational knowledge. However, Electives of Specialisation such as: Intercultural Communications, Political Journalism, Culture and Journalism, Culture and Education, Society, Media and Power, focus on critical knowledge. The unit Intercultural Communications explicitly refers to media involvement in the reproduction of stereotypes, sexuality, identity, intercultural and ethnic group identity. It is the only unit, which explicitly mentions such issues.

Regarding the compulsory bibliography, students are required to read more than 300 documents during their degree. There is a combination of literature, disciplinary literature and films. Of those where the gender of the author could be established, 260 documents were written by male authors, 39 by female authors and 30 by both male and female authors.<sup>12</sup>

During the degree, students are required to read two documents explicitly related to gender. They are *Gender as a Challenge for Equality* (PNUD, 2012) and *Identity, Myth and Stories* (Montecino, 2003). Both documents are part of the specialisation unit Intercultural Communications. Particular units, such as Journalism Research, Media 1: Press and TV Journalism use material such as newspapers, magazines or videos related to gender issues.

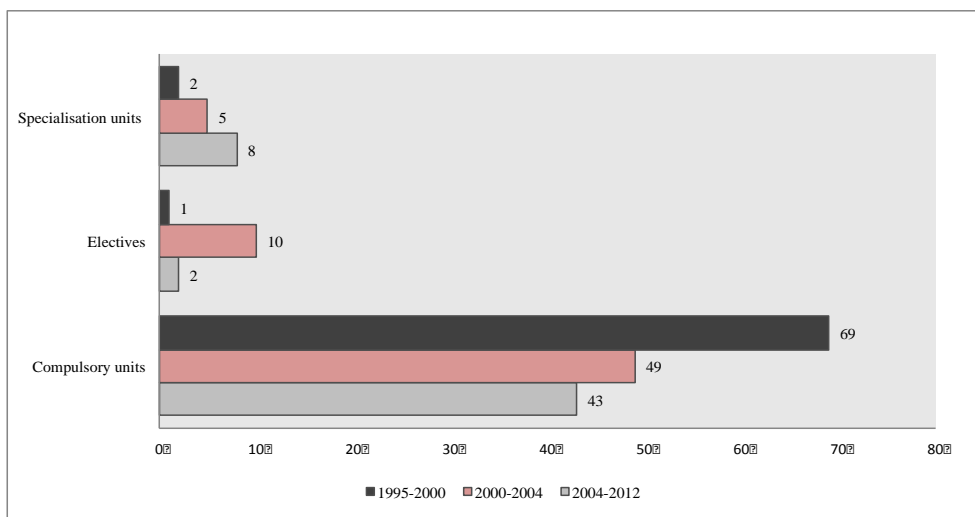
### **Curricular changes**

Three main curricular changes have occurred since the program began: in 1995, 2000 and 2004. The current curriculum has operated for eight years.

Table 20 shows the changes in terms of structure and organisation of knowledge. Journalism education has been cut back in each curriculum change since 1995 and there has been a significant increase in specialisation units and a decrease in compulsory units.

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<sup>12</sup> The total count of the bibliography does not include those books or reports where the names of authors are not specified, for example the cine encyclopaedia.

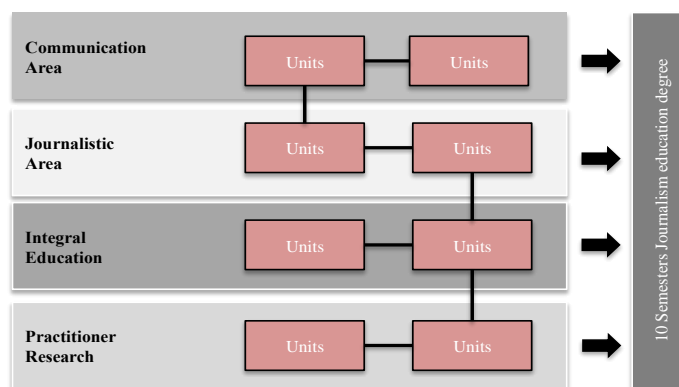


**Figure 20:** Total number of units in degree courses, in three periods, includes compulsory units (including thesis seminar), elective units and specialisation units at Diego Portales University. **Source:** Diego Portales University. Chile, 2012.

From 1995-2000 the curriculum was spread across four areas of knowledge (see Figure 21) define by the University as:

- a) Journalistic area: 21 units related to the categories ‘Writing’ and ‘Professional Practice’. Examples were Photography, Television, Radio, Press, and Graphic Design.
- b) Integral formation area: 27 units related to ‘Foundation of Knowledge’. Examples were Philosophy, History and Culture, Geography, Art and Culture, and Logic.
- c) Social communication area: 11 units including subjects related to Organisational Communication, Public Relations and Viewer Research.
- d) Practitioner research area: four units focused on developing research skill courses, such as Qualitative Research and Quantitative Research.

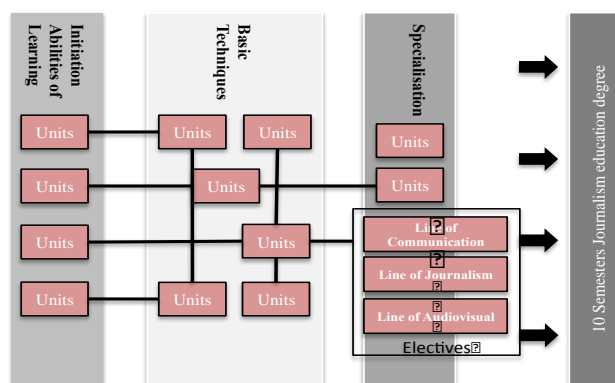
The 1995-2000 curriculum did not have a logic of specialisation (Figure 21). This curriculum could be defined as disciplinary oriented within a hierarchical framework. In this organisation, disciplines did not underpin practice but existed for their own sake.



**Figure 21:** Structure of curriculum 1995 - 2000. **Source:** Diego Portales University. Chile, 2012.

In 2000-2004 the curriculum changed. The number of units offered was reduced from 72 to 64 with an increase in the number of hours in each unit. Units related to ‘Professional Practice’ rose in number as well as in the quantity of hours.

A new logic in the structure of knowledge was developed. The curriculum was divided into three stages that involved a progression from general knowledge to specific knowledge, where the specific was the specialisation that focused on professional subjects. In this new logic, disciplines would underpin practice (Figure 22).



**Figure 22:** Curriculum structure 2000 - 2004. **Source:** Diego Portales University. Chile, 2012.

Firstly, Initiation Abilities of Learning in the first and second semester. This stage concentrated most of the units of ‘Foundation of Knowledge’; only two units were related to the category ‘Elements of Professional Practice’. This stage involved 13 units.

The second stage was called Basic Techniques and included the third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh semesters. This stage brought together units related to the categories of 'Elements of Professional Practice' and 'Professional Practice,' i.e. units that were work-related. Units such as: Radio, Television, Quantitative Research, and Photography were developed during this stage. Only four units related to the category 'Foundation of Knowledge' were delivered during this time, these units were Contemporary History, History of Chile 1 and 2 and Economics. A total of 34 units were part of basic techniques.

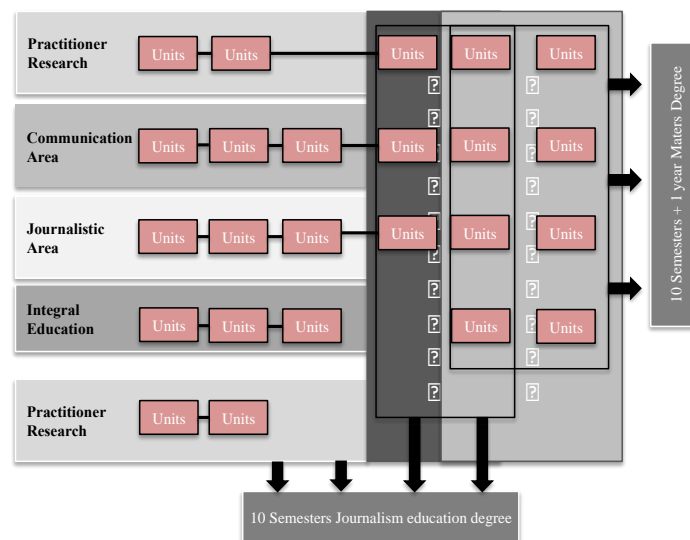
The third (final) stage was called Specialisation. This stage included semesters eight, nine and ten. During this stage students had five compulsory units (Public Relations, Art and Culture, and Technology, Science, and Journalism Seminar) and six electives, which were divided into three 'lines' of specialisation that defined three areas of knowledge: area of Communication; area of Journalism and Audiovisual area. Even though the documents on display do not give information about what these areas involved, these electives appear as a selection of disciplines that allowed students to gain specific knowledge related to a specialisation. Therefore, this stage is the platform for specialisation. Units such as Human Geography, and Physical Geography disappeared, while Editing courses increased.

From 2004-2012 the number of units was reduced, as had happened in 2000, with a further increase in the number of hours per course. These changes suggest that the vocational educational focus that started with the previous curriculum was further institutionalised. In 2012 units such as Interview Workshop and Production Workshop had designated 10 hours; other units such as Photographic Journalism and Television have designated eight hours. In contrast, units related to the category 'Foundation of Knowledge' such as Contemporary History and Communication decreased in number and also in hours, having only six hours a week, less than the rest of the units.

The 2004 curriculum merged the two previous curricula. It came back to the ideas of lines of knowledge (curriculum 1995), levels of knowledge (curriculum 2000) and reinforced the idea of specialisation in areas such as Strategic Communication. A significant change was a new unit called Entrepreneurship that aimed to teach students how to generate their own mass media enterprise.

A remarkable change took place in this period, in terms of course structure. This was the use of non-disciplinary names and the sophistication of the names used for some courses. An example is the course called Modernity and Trends in Thinking, which is actually Sociology. The change to non-disciplinary names suggests that the journalism school education has become immersed in a new marketing strategy.

This marketing strategy also included the development of other qualifications. As shown in Figure 23, the structure of the curriculum (2004-2012) was conceived to allow additional work during the undergraduate courses in order to provide the opportunity to access a postgraduate master's degree at the end of semester 10. Most of the specialised courses are focused on the contents to be delivered in the master's degree. Journalism education degree units could be validated within the master's degree and thereby the student would only require a further year of study to gain a higher degree.



**Figure 23:** Curriculum structure 2005 - 2012. **Source:** Diego Portales University. Chile, 2012.

In summary, three remarkable changes occurred during the whole period.

- a) The curriculum shifted from general knowledge to a more professionally oriented education.
- b) There was reorganisation of the areas of knowledge:
  - Social science theories were replaced by communication theories

- Cultural studies theories were replaced by audience research
- Human relations theories were replaced by strategic communication

The reorganisation of these areas of knowledge did not reflect changes in terms of gender order.

C) There was a marketisation of the curriculum, renaming disciplines to make them more attractive. This strategy by the university is a symbol of the effort to make journalism education part of an educational market.

D) There was no unit within the curriculum that explored contemporary gender issues in media. There was no unit with an objective to educate in gender issues or which covered gender production of news or of mass media in general.

Although there is a marginal inclusion of gender issues within the curriculum, this incorporation appears to be focused more on children than on women or men. There is an inconsistency in the incorporation of gender issues. This marginalisation and the inclusion of sporadic initiatives suggest that these types of gender inclusion are based on personal interests rather than any institutional one.

In Annexed institutions and initiatives it is possible to observe some actions that address gender issues as content. However, this is not part of the compulsory education of students.

Female students began to outnumber male students in the degree of journalism. However, the composition of the teaching staff remains strongly masculine.

## **Andrés Bello University**

### **The beginning**

The Andrés Bello University was established in 1988 as an offshoot of Andrés Bello College. The university was created as an independent corporation called Universidad Andrés Bello S.A. and the Developed Society of Higher Education S.A. (DESUP) by entrepreneurs, Victor Saleh, Nidia Selman (Victor Saleh's wife) and the lawyer/entrepreneur Francisco Luna.



Emblematic figures involved in the military regime joined the university, such as the ex-Minister of Education under Pinochet, Monica Madariaga, and the president of the right-wing party, Independent Democratic Union (UDI), Julio Dittborn.

Towards the beginning of the 1990s, the university was immersed in a political crisis. As a result, Victor Saleh sold his part of the business. Right-wing personalities bought shares in the corporation, including Pablo Longueira, a presidential candidate in 2013, and Andrés Chadwick, Home Office Minister in the Chilean government elected in 2010. In 2003, the university announced a new strategic association. The owners of the university sold the “portfolio of students”<sup>13</sup> to Sylvan International Company. However, figures strongly linked to the UDI continued to be retained.

Currently, Andrés Bello University is the second largest private university in Chile in terms of number of enrolments. In 2012 the number of enrolments in the Metropolitan region campus was 27,206 students distributed among 68 degree programs.

### **Admission criteria and prices**

To study journalism education at Andrés Bello University students need to have completed high school and done the PSU (University selection test). In general the admission to the university was based on a minimum academic performance in high school scores and PSU, which continues to the present day. The minimum score required by a student to enrol at Andrés Bello University was 450 points in the PSU, while no high school score was stated.

Figure 24 shows the maximum and minimum scores required in the PSU and the high school score (2010-2012) to enrol in journalism education. The lowest score required in this period was in 2012. The available evidence suggests that, despite a decline in enrolment, the change in the score performance could be interpreted as a

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<sup>13</sup> The State of Chile acknowledges education as a right, which means that the university structures cannot profit from education. Therefore whoever establishes a university may not sell it, officially. However, the Constitutional Organic Law of higher education has established this as an unofficial business where people play numerous economic games in order to trade in the universities market. In this case, as the owners could not sell the university per se, they instead sold the student portfolio as a commodity.

market strategy to conserve the rate of enrolments in journalism education. By lowering the requirement of the PSU performance, Andrés Bello University is likely to slow the decrease of enrolments and retain a higher rate of matriculation.

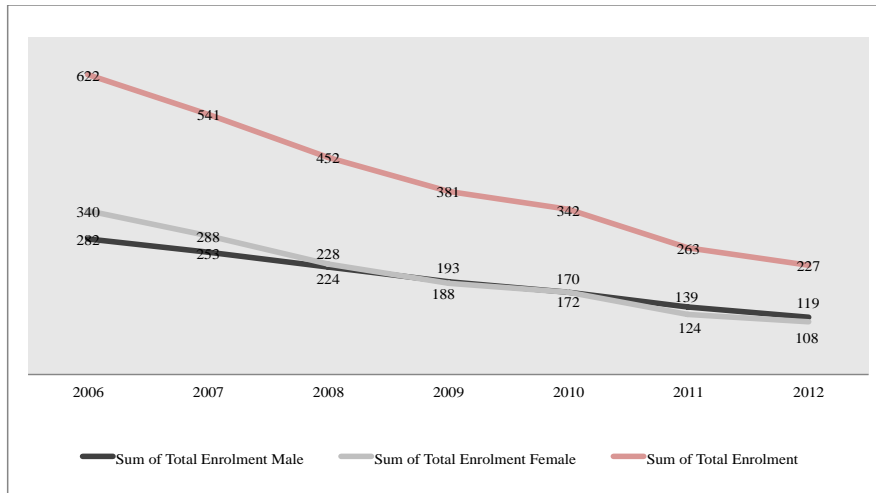


**Figure 24:** PSU scores at Andrés Bello University 2006-2012. **Source:** Council of Higher Education. Ministry of Education. Chile, 2012.

At Andrés Bello University the fee for enrolment in journalism education is \$341,837 Chilean pesos and the annual fee is \$3,721,618. No fee for the graduate certificate is required. In Australian dollars this amounts to around \$680 and \$7,440 respectively.<sup>14</sup>

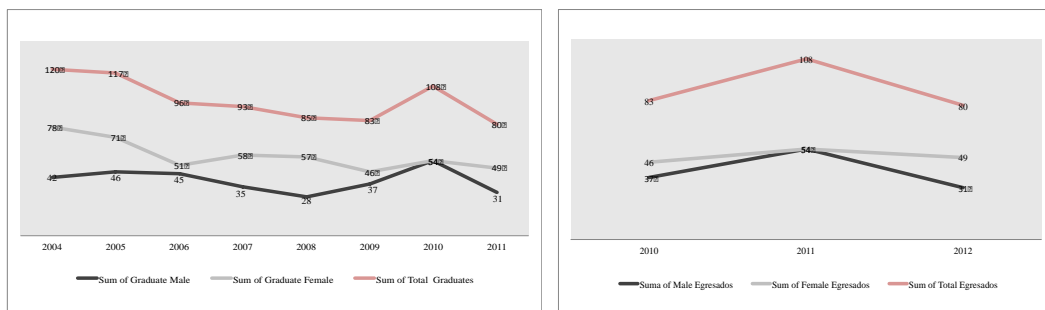
Andrés Bello University has the second highest enrolment in university journalism education in the private system in Chile. Although it has held this position since its creation, a dramatic decrease in the number of journalism enrolments has taken place since 2006, which also occurred at Diego Portales University. The drop in enrolments coincides as well as with the call by the Chilean Journalists' Professional Society for students not to enrol in journalism education. Total enrolments of journalism education students fell from a peak of 622 in 2006 to 227 in 2012. While there was no significant difference in number of enrolments between sexes, the stronger decline was in female students (Figure 25).

<sup>14</sup> Exchange rate applied late 2012.



**Figure 25:** Total enrolment in journalism education at Andrés Bello University. **Source:** Council of Higher Education. Ministry of Education. Chile, 2012.

As Figure 26 shows, the number of graduates has declined over the entire period. Although there was a spike of enrolments in 2010, this was not sustained, falling again in 2011. According to the data available, the number of graduates and *egresados* in 2010 and 2011 is equal, which suggests that who *egresa* (finished) also graduated.



**Figure 26:** Scores of graduates and egresados at Andrés Bello University 2006-2012. **Source:** Council of Higher Education. Ministry of Education. Chile, 2012.

The number of graduates from 2006 to 2012 was lower than the average number of yearly enrolments across the entire period. There was an overall decline in the number of graduates in comparison with the number of enrolments. This can be seen in the 2006 cohort. Of the 662 students who enrolled in 2006, only 108 graduated in 2010, which means that 83 per cent of this generation did not graduate

or complete the degree.<sup>15</sup> Sixteen per cent of female students did graduate or finish, as did 19 per cent of the male students.

### Teaching staff characteristics

Data on individual teachers in journalism education was not available, so it was not possible to know the distribution in terms of sex within teaching. However, it was possible to access a chart of 92 degrees offered by the Andrés Bello University in the Metropolitan Region. Figure 27 displays the features of the types of degree and the condition of teacher contracts in terms of full-time/part-time status. As Table 14 shows, Andrés Bello University had a sustained growth of full-time teachers, reaching its peak in 2012 with 2,519 teachers, of whom 617 were full-time permanent teachers, representing 24 per cent of the total number of teachers in 2012. The number of hourly teachers (62 per cent) was the highest number over the whole period, independent of degree type.

The number of PhD-qualified teachers represented only 14 per cent of total teachers in 2012 for the Metropolitan Region. Masters-qualified teachers represented 29 per cent of total teachers. Together, doctoral- and masters-qualified teachers comprised 42 per cent of the total number of teachers. This indicates that there are a significant number of teachers without postgraduate qualifications.

Type of Contract	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Full time Teachers	267	330	325	415	463	474	480	617
Part time Teachers	156	136	215	146	259	324	325	339
Hourly Teachers	1207	1413	1588	1509	1638	1855	1853	1563
<b>Total</b>	<b>1630</b>	<b>1879</b>	<b>2128</b>	<b>2070</b>	<b>2360</b>	<b>2653</b>	<b>2658</b>	<b>2519</b>

Type of Contract	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Full time Doctors	25	14	21	22	23	37	37	29
Part time Doctors	63	63	71	95	118	124	126	163
Hourly Doctors	132	134	129	109	109	125	125	133
<b>Total</b>	<b>220</b>	<b>211</b>	<b>221</b>	<b>226</b>	<b>250</b>	<b>286</b>	<b>288</b>	<b>325</b>

Type of Contract	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Full time Masters	77	92	110	132	153	143	147	159
Part time Masters	34	36	54	37	48	56	56	101
Hourly Masters	259	313	318	307	381	403	387	473
<b>Total</b>	<b>370</b>	<b>441</b>	<b>482</b>	<b>476</b>	<b>582</b>	<b>602</b>	<b>590</b>	<b>733</b>

**Figure 27:** Type of teacher contracts at Andrés Bello University 2005-2012. **Source:** Council of Higher Education. Ministry of Education. Chile, 2012.

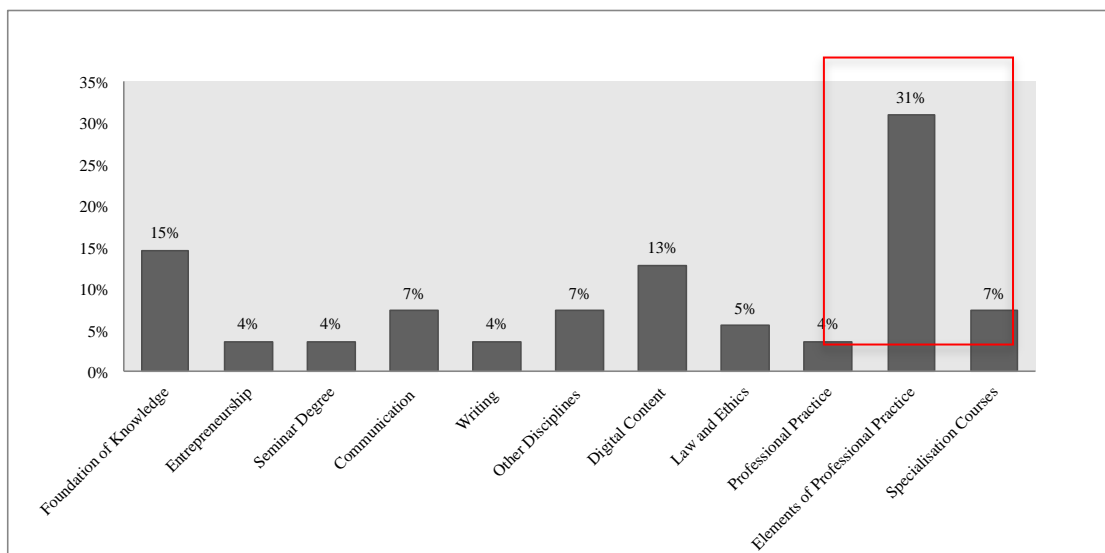
<sup>15</sup> While it is assumed that not all students finish in exactly five years, the ratio of students finishing late is fairly constant.

## Mapping the curricula: Course overview

The journalism education degree at Andrés Bello University has a duration of 10 semesters. During this time the students may obtain a Bachelor of Communication after four semesters and a *Licenciatura* after eight semesters.

The program of journalism education contains 51 compulsory units, four general electives and three electives of specialisation. Students need to have completed 58 units in total by their fifth year.

The structure of the current curriculum can be grouped into 11 categories of knowledge. As Figure 28 shows, the ‘Professional Practice’ category is the most substantial area of knowledge.



**Figure 28:** Categories of units offered by Andrés Bello University- excluding internship. **Source:** Andrés Bello University. Chile, 2012.

Forty-four per cent of the units can be grouped within the categories of ‘Professional Practice’ and ‘Elements of Professional Practice’, which shows a strong focus in the curriculum on technical aspects of journalism. Fifteen per cent of the units are related to the category ‘Foundation of Knowledge’, developing more disciplinary areas such as: History of Journalism, Contemporary Chilean History, Contemporary Universal History, Economics, Political Thought, Scientific Studies, and Art.

The data shows a tendency for the university to supply units based on the technological demand of the industry. Thirteen per cent of the category of 'Digital Contents' refers to one subject: Internet. The units within this category are Internet I, II, III, IV, V, and VI.

An examination of the unit outlines from 2000 to 2012 shows that 100 per cent of the units defined the type of content delivered through their unit outlines. All of the reviewed unit outlines explicitly declared an aim to develop learning skills related to disciplinary knowledge. Critical knowledge was poorly defined in the study programs. Units distinctly vocationally oriented, such as TV, Radio, Press, and Internet were defined in the unit outline as professional knowledge, closely associated with a particular job but barely associated with any body of knowledge. The development of social and cultural disciplines was implemented from a fragmentary knowledge based mainly on the recital of facts. Examples of this were the units: Contemporary History, History of Chile, History of Journalism, Economy, and Political System, where the description of the unit outlines and their content were distinguished by a hierarchical knowledge defined for only a short space of time. Only one unit – Press III – had an explicit intention to elaborate on the right to information.

The prominence of work-related units reflects the opening up of the Andrés Bello University to a vocationally oriented curriculum. This decision is reinforced by the number of hours designated to the different areas of knowledge. Of the units related to the category 'Foundation of Knowledge', 100 per cent were designated three hours per week. By comparison, units related to the category 'Professional Practice' were assigned four hours per week.

An examination of the unit outlines suggests that Andrés Bello focused on technical pedagogical components. A sort of political neutrality of content is observed, which is present across the entire curriculum. This neutrality is reflected in the avoidance of any type of social conversation. This suggests that the education process leaves out broader public, intellectual, political and social aims. In addition, there is no mention of units or contents related to gender or any issue related to social dynamics.

There are two types of electives that are delivered: general electives and electives of specialisation. Four general electives must be taken during the journalism education degree. As in the case of Diego Portales University, these electives are part of a complementary curriculum that allows the student to achieve a minor. However, in the case of Andrés Bello University, this minor may be done in areas such as Philosophy, History, Literature, Communication, Education, Psychology and Pedagogy. To some extent, this minor may be seen as a way to compensate for the lack of theoretical knowledge that the programs present.

Electives of specialisation are offered at the end of the degree during the ninth and tenth semesters. There are eight units offered:

- Communication and Political Marketing
- Mass Media. Narratives.
- Research for Television Coverage
- Internal Communication
- Copy Editing Process
- International Affairs Agenda
- Global Politics
- Journalism of Legal Affairs

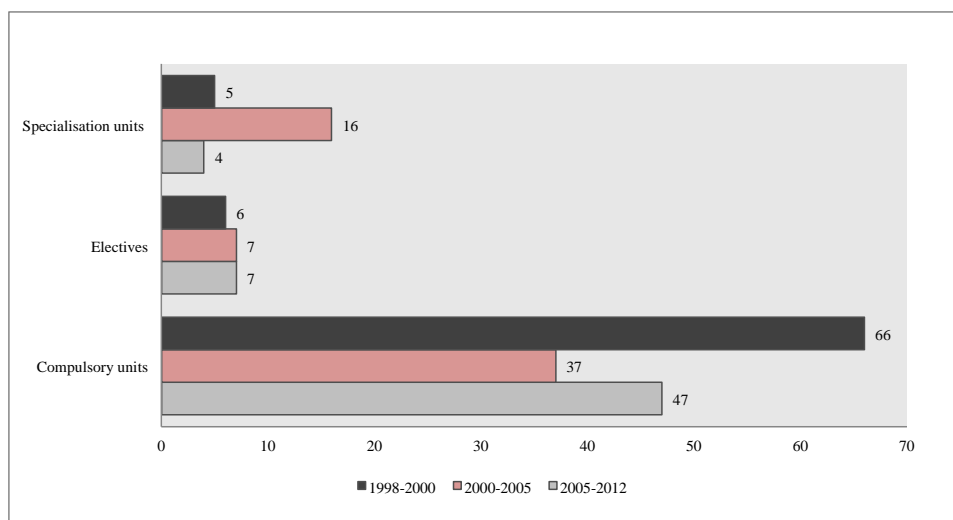
These units are exclusively about journalism education, reinforcing the development of technical skills and applied knowledge. Again, no gender issues are presented.

Students need to read more than 254 documents during their education as part of the compulsory bibliography. Of the literature, where gender of the author could be established, 220 documents were written by male authors, 21 exclusively by female authors and 12 by both male and female authors. There was no compulsory reading related to gender.

### **Curricular changes**

The course structure has changed three times since the foundation of the journalism degree: in 1998; 2000; 2005. As a whole, during these periods the main changes have focused on the permanent reduction of total courses. The areas with most

variation have been specialisation units and compulsory units. Figure 29 shows the variation in the course structure since the initial curriculum in terms of numbers of units and types of courses since 1998. The course overview (2005-2012) presents 47 compulsory units, seven electives and four specialisation units.



**Figure 29:** Total number of units in degree courses, in three periods, includes compulsory units (including thesis seminar), elective units and specialisation units at Andrés Bello University. **Source:** Andrés Bello University. Chile, 2012.

A review of the 1998-2000 curriculum indicates that it was based on a long period of delivering units related to the category ‘Foundation of Knowledge’ and a short period of ‘Specialisation’ (one year). There were 20 units related to the category ‘Foundation of Knowledge’, involving subjects such as Chilean History, Contemporary History, Economy, Psychology, Philosophy, Sociology, and Geography.

The ‘Writing’ and ‘Law and Ethics’ categories appeared strong in terms of number of units, with six and five units respectively. The large number of units related to writing suggests there was a need to improve students’ writing skills. The fact that Andrés Bello University is part of the mass university system and has low entry requirements makes the program of journalism education susceptible to having a large number of students with a lack of specific skills such as writing. Therefore, having a large number of units of Writing may compensate for such a deficit.

A significant number of subjects not specifically related to journalism education were provided during the program. This involved units such as: Graphic Design,

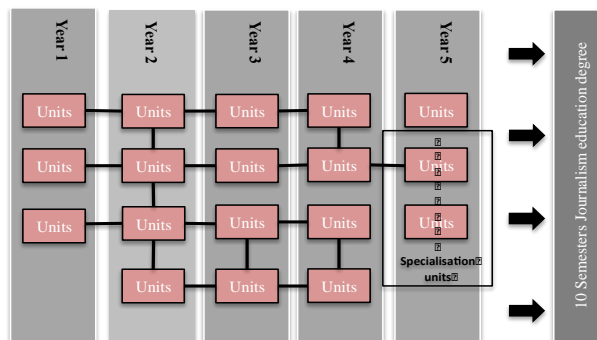


Marketing, Printing Techniques, Advertising, Administration, Public Relations, and Implemented Publicity as part of this curriculum.

Subjects such as Journalism Research and Content Analysis were also included in the program. Specialisation was defined in the fifth year. Students had eight electives of specialisation: Politics, Economics, Social Policy, Justice and Policy, Science, International Studies, Culture, Entertainment, and Sport.

The structure of this curriculum suggests dispersion in the conception of journalism and its tasks. It appears as a hybridised form of journalism, Communication, Management, Graphic Design, Public Relations and Marketing.

The structure of this curriculum can be seen in Figure 30:



**Figure 30:** Curriculum structure 1998-2000. *Source:* Andrés Bello University. Chile, 2012.

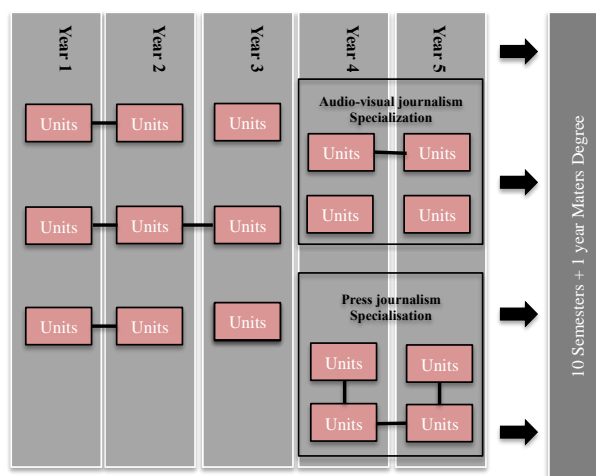
The structure shows that no area or line is developed specifically. No gender content was found.

Under the second curriculum (2000-2005), the structure and logic of the units were rearranged. Units relating to the category ‘Foundation of Knowledge’ were concentrated in the first year, such as History and Social Psychology. Units related to the categories of ‘Communication’ and ‘Professional Practice’ started to increase during the second and third years. In contrast, ‘Foundation of Knowledge’ was reduced. From the fifth semester onwards no units relating to the category ‘Foundation of Knowledge’ content was found.

An examination of this curriculum shows that some units were reduced while others appeared for the first time. Management and Marketing, for example, experienced a

reduction in terms of units. However, Social Research Methodology was a new unit offered. Units related to the category ‘Writing’ were also reduced but were reinforced by other units such as Informative Journalism and Interpretive Journalism.

The major shift in the curriculum occurred in terms of specialisation (Figure 31). This curriculum divided specialisation into two types: Audiovisual Journalism and Press Journalism. This change meant an increase in the period of specialisation courses to two years and a concentration of the specialisation courses to the fourth and fifth years. The number of courses offered during these years doubled at the end of the specialisation in comparison to the previous curriculum. In the case of Audiovisual Journalism, 22 specialisation units were set and in the case of Press Journalism 20 specialisation units were established.



**Figure 31:** Curriculum structure 2000-2005. **Source:** Andrés Bello University. Chile, 2012.

The Audiovisual area included courses such as Graphics and Direction of Reporting. In the case of the Press area, the increased number of specialisation courses refers to a growth in Writing, Journalism Research, and Reporting Workshop. The results suggest that this curriculum makes a pitch to provide specific skills of journalism education, profiling those students who focused on specialisation more than on general education. No gender content was found.

The last change observed (2005-2012) was a throwback in terms of structural logic. During this period, units fell drastically while the number of hours per unit increased. The ‘Foundation of Knowledge’ category was almost eliminated, leaving

only five units related to this category in the whole education process. Specialisation courses were removed and were replaced by electives of specialisation, which did not define any specialisation such as the Press area. On the contrary, the electives were a different set of units related to journalism but broadly defined. These electives were concentrated during the last year and included units such as Communication, Political Marketing and Economic Journalism.

One of the most remarkable changes was the use of non-disciplinary names to identify curriculum courses. Units were given sophisticated non-disciplinary names, abandoning traditional names such as Economics or Sociology. This shift appeared to be a marketing strategy by the university to make the degree more attractive to students.

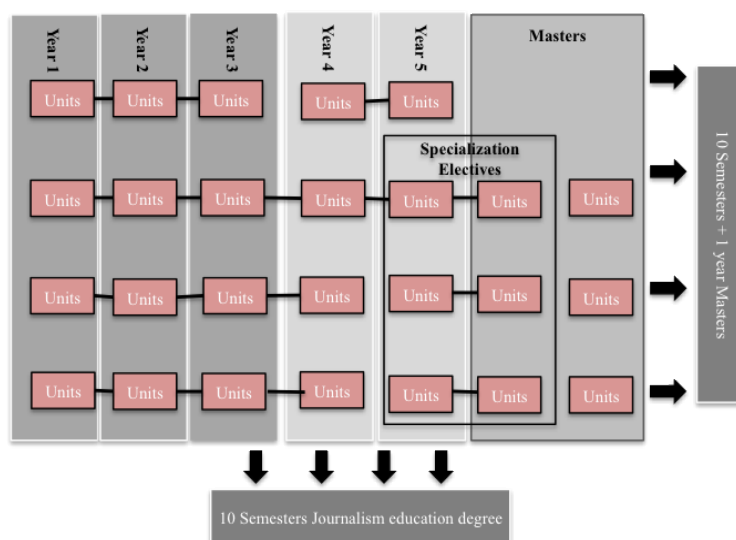
The arrangement of the curriculum was also different. In contrast to earlier curriculums, this curriculum started with courses oriented to journalism practice, which means that the curriculum structure was determined by practice. Though no curriculum from the Andrés Bello University has explicitly defined lines of knowledge or areas of development, this curriculum clearly defined elements that underpin the practice and units which are journalism practice.

In addition, Writing units fell again; Methodology, Journalism Research and Public Relations were eliminated and Enterprise Information appeared as a new unit. An important shift was observed toward vocationally-oriented knowledge, highlighting technical aspects of journalism. The shift included a specific profile of students focused on mass media journalism. Results suggest that there was a trend to deliver more technical elements of journalism rather than professional aspects.

These changes indicate an exclusive preparation of the student to the occupational fields of practice, marginalising the production of disciplinary knowledge to an instrumental role. This leads students to a position where they are prepared to support the needs of industry – in this case mass media – but are at the same time diverted from any kind of social conversation that might reflect social awareness. Therefore, regardless of the changes in knowledge that students receive, the displacement of disciplinary knowledge in the curriculum can be understood as a type of segmentation of knowledge.

As at Diego Portales University, the structure of the curriculum at Andrés Bello was conceived to allow students to do additional study during the undergraduate courses in order to gain a postgraduate master's degree at the end of the semester 10.

Figure 32 shows the structure of this curriculum.



**Figure 32:** Curriculum structure 2005 - 2012. **Source:** Andrés Bello University. Chile, 2012.

This type of organisation of the curriculum is clearly market-oriented, producing additional services as a strategic promotion of the degree. The promotion of education services in the case of journalism education also includes advertising.

In summary, there were three structural curriculum changes since the program was opened. These changes are characterised by a reduction of units related to 'Foundation of Knowledge', resulting in a highly technical degree of journalism education. A strategy of marketisation has been employed over the last years to maintain the numbers of students enrolled. There was no content which prepared students in aspects of social life, or which reflected social awareness. There were no gender elements or issues taught or research carried out. There is an apparent neutralisation of gender in the curriculum contents. There is not much use of knowledge produced by women. Only 21 of 254 units were written by women, which suggest a highly masculinised circulation of knowledge. The lack of information about journalism teaching staff suggests neutrality in their appointment. Although it was not possible to study the division of labour within journalism education, in general, the gender work structure of the university appears overtly

masculinised. As at Andrés Bello University, there are more female students than male students.

## **University of Santiago**

### **The Beginning**

The University of Santiago was established in 1947 as a public university. It was created under the name Technical University of the State. Historically it has been characterised as one of the most working-class universities. The share of enrolled working-class students increased from 4.5 to 30 per cent from 1968 to 1973 (Kirberg, 1981). In 1973, the military junta intervened at the university and designated a Rector Delegado (Delegate Chancellor), appointing all academic and administrative authorities. The structure and social dynamics of the university changed dramatically as a consequence of this intervention (see more Chapter 3).

Journalism education was inaugurated in 1991. In 1991 the university offered a *Licenciatura* in social communication and the degree of journalism education. At that time journalism education grew under the auspices of the rectory, awaiting the creation of the faculty of social science. During its first year, the journalism school delivered only a day program degree. However from 1993 onward, an evening program was created that was specially aimed at journalists who had been unable to finish a journalism education degree under the dictatorship. In 1998, due to a political crisis within the University of Santiago, enrolment was suspended for two years. However in 2001, the journalism school officially became part of the Faculty of Humanities and two evening programs were established in 2004. The University of Santiago is the third largest public university in terms of enrolment in journalism education in Santiago and the fourth largest in Chile.

The university has historically been characterised by the strong political character of its students and teachers, who have participated in hunger strikes and picket lines, motivated by the struggle for equity of education and the improvement of educational conditions involving Chilean universities. Since the 1990s the University of Santiago, along with the majority of public universities, has been included in State reforms aimed at democratising the State and its institutions. In

this context public universities were affected by a range of public policies, including the gender managed program (PMG) (see Chapter 3).

### **Admission criteria and prices**

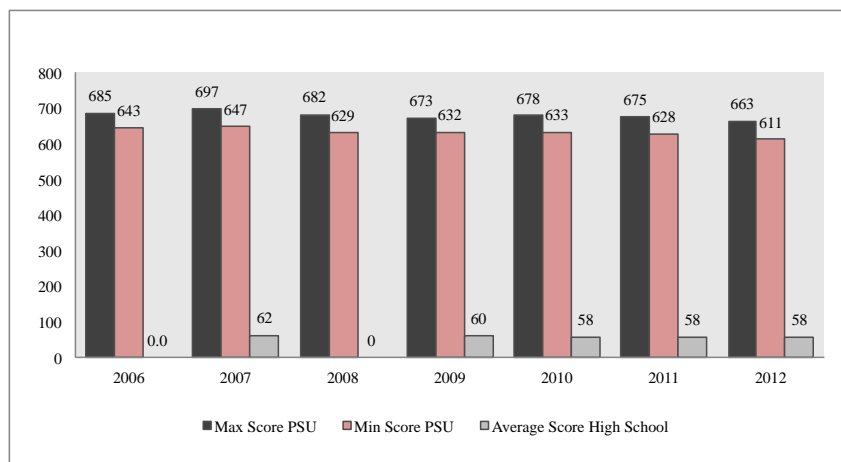
To enter the University of Santiago, applicants have to take the PSU. In the case of public universities, the selection differs from the selection for private universities. The main difference is based on a) the minimum and maximum scores of the PSU, which are nationally agreed-upon for each degree; and b) the school scores are required for entry. For public universities there is a minimum score of 600 points in the PSU to be eligible to apply for any degree; the school score required depends on the university. The fact that a student can apply does not ensure he/she will be accepted. Each public university has a maximum number of places and entry is determined according to this number. Therefore, the student with the highest score would hold the first mark to entry, determining the rest of the scores and consequently the vacancy level.<sup>16</sup>

Figure 33 shows how the maximum and minimum scores of the PSU have been maintained over the years. School scores have varied between 62 and 58 during the period, remaining at 58 over the last three years.<sup>17</sup>

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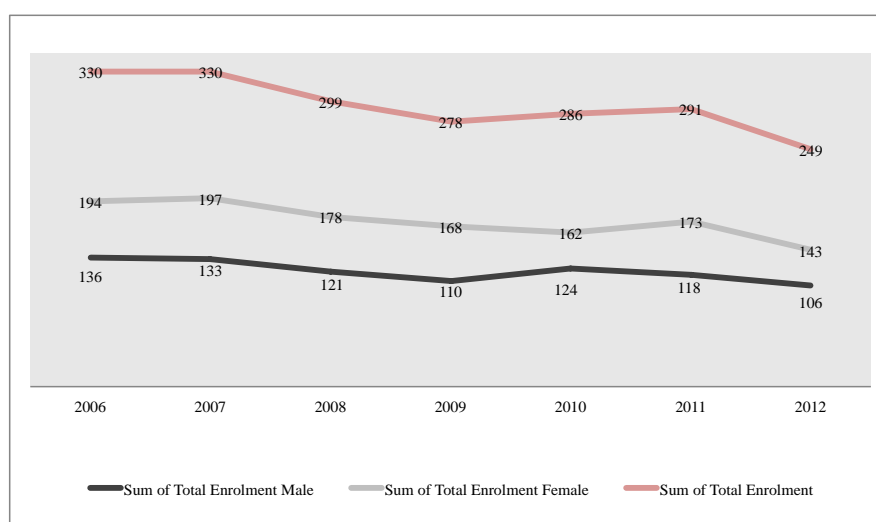
<sup>16</sup> According to Juan Eduardo García-Huidobro (2011) a distinguished Chilean academic, the results of the PSU have a direct relationship to the school of origin. By 2010, 57 per cent of students from public schools and 93 per cent of these who had studied in private schools scored 450 points or more. This result, according to García-Huidobro, is strongly related to the social class of the students and the social condition of the family. To a great extent it determines which school students will attend.

<sup>17</sup> In Chile the scale of school scores goes from 1 (lowest) to 7 (highest).



**Figure 33:** PSU Scores at the University of Santiago 2006-2012. **Source:** Council of Higher Education. Ministry of Education. Chile, 2012.

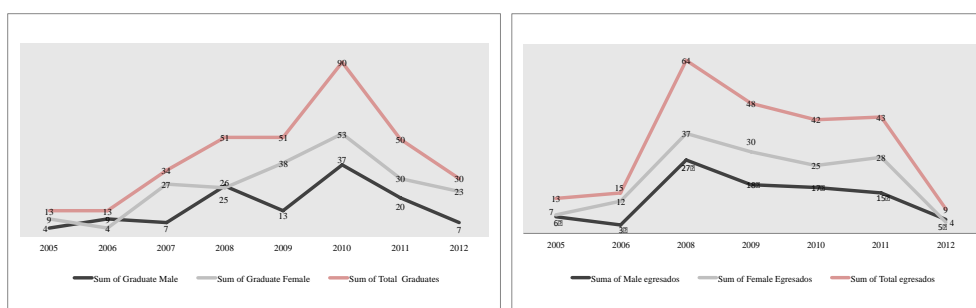
During 2012, the University of Santiago offered 56 degrees and had a total enrolment of 17,507 students. An examination of the journalism education degree shows that during 2012 there were 249 students enrolled. Figure 34 shows that total enrolments at the University of Santiago dropped by 16 per cent from 2006 to 2012. Female enrolments dropped by nine per cent while males dropped by five per cent. However, the university maintained its high share of system-wide enrolments. This result might be explained by the decrease of the entry-scores to journalism education. The drop coincides with the call by the Chilean Journalists' Professional Society to reconsider enrolling in journalism education.



**Figure 34:** Enrolments in journalism education at the University of Santiago. **Source:** Council of Higher Education. Ministry of Education. Chile, 2012.

As Figure 35 shows, there is a difference between the number of graduates and *egresados*. Examination shows that the rate of graduation was unstable. From 2005, there was a growth in graduates, reaching a peak of 90 in 2010. Total graduate numbers then fell to 30 by 2012. In the same period, a higher number of female graduates than males is observed.

In the case of *egresados* there was a radical increase from 2006 to 2008, from 12 to 64. However, from 2008 to 2011 there was a continual decline that deepened at the end of the period.



**Figure 35:** Scores for graduates and *egresados* at the University of Santiago 2006-2012. **Source:** Council of Higher Education. Ministry of Education. Chile, 2012.

There are no real differences in terms of sex for the ratio of graduation and *egreso*.

An examination of the data shows that the drop-off rate was significant. If the 2006 intake is taken as an example, only 27 per cent of the students graduated in 2010. This means that 73 per cent of the students of this generation were lost during their education. These values are worse than in other periods.<sup>18</sup>

The cost of university study for 2012 includes the following charges: Enrolment \$128,000 Chilean pesos, an annual fee of \$3,616,000, and a graduation fee of \$55,000 Chilean pesos. These are approximately equivalent to \$260, \$7,200 and \$110 Australian dollars.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> While it is assumed that not all students finish in exactly five years, the ratio of students finishing late remains fairly constant.

<sup>19</sup> Exchange rate applied late 2012.



## Teaching staff characteristics

In 2012, the University of Santiago had 1,928 teachers within the 56 undergraduate degrees offered (Table 36). Most of the teachers (67 per cent) were paid on an hourly basis, and 28 per cent were employed full-time. Twenty-two per cent of the teachers had a doctorate and 26 per cent a master's degree.

Type of Contract	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Full time Teachers	503	483	562	660	546	626	610	549
Part time Teachers	128	112	118	141	115	85	85	84
Hourly Teachers	1502	1109	1033	1961	1266	1328	1151	1295
<b>Total</b>	<b>2133</b>	<b>1704</b>	<b>1713</b>	<b>2762</b>	<b>1927</b>	<b>2039</b>	<b>1846</b>	<b>1928</b>

Type of Contract	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Full time Doctors	35	28	24	29	29	24	26	27
Part time Doctors	207	209	221	233	251	320	332	320
Hourly Doctors	67	56	43	41	63	50	61	76
<b>Total</b>	<b>309</b>	<b>293</b>	<b>288</b>	<b>303</b>	<b>343</b>	<b>394</b>	<b>419</b>	<b>423</b>

Type of Contract	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Full time Masters	149	143	147	141	141	178	161	142
Part time Masters	41	27	30	29	30	18	23	25
Hourly Masters	270	199	164	182	227	256	298	338
<b>Total</b>	<b>460</b>	<b>369</b>	<b>341</b>	<b>352</b>	<b>398</b>	<b>452</b>	<b>482</b>	<b>505</b>

**Figure 36:** Type of teacher contracts at the University of Santiago 2005-2012. **Source:** Council of Higher Education. Ministry of Education. Chile, 2012.

There were a large number of male teachers in Journalism Education. From a total of 58 teachers, 36 were male and 22 female. By 2013, 11 teachers had a PhD, representing 19 per cent of the educational endowment, two females and nine males. Twenty-five teachers had a master's degree, representing 43 per cent of the total teachers, 15 females and 17 males. Fifty-one teachers were employed on a part-time and seven full-time, i.e. 12 per cent. Most of the female teachers taught classes focused on professional skills such as Communication, Radio, English Language, Design, Television, Research, Art and Photography. Three of them taught Political Analysis, Finance and Global Analysis while two taught units relating to general knowledge such as Psychology and Sociology.

## Annexed institutions and initiatives

In terms of research, journalism at the University of Santiago has been one of the leaders in promoting seminars and conferences about journalism education and journalism itself, calling on the profession to rethink journalism education and the different practices of journalism as field work. It is also one of the few universities to have a close relationship with the Chilean Journalists' Professional Society.

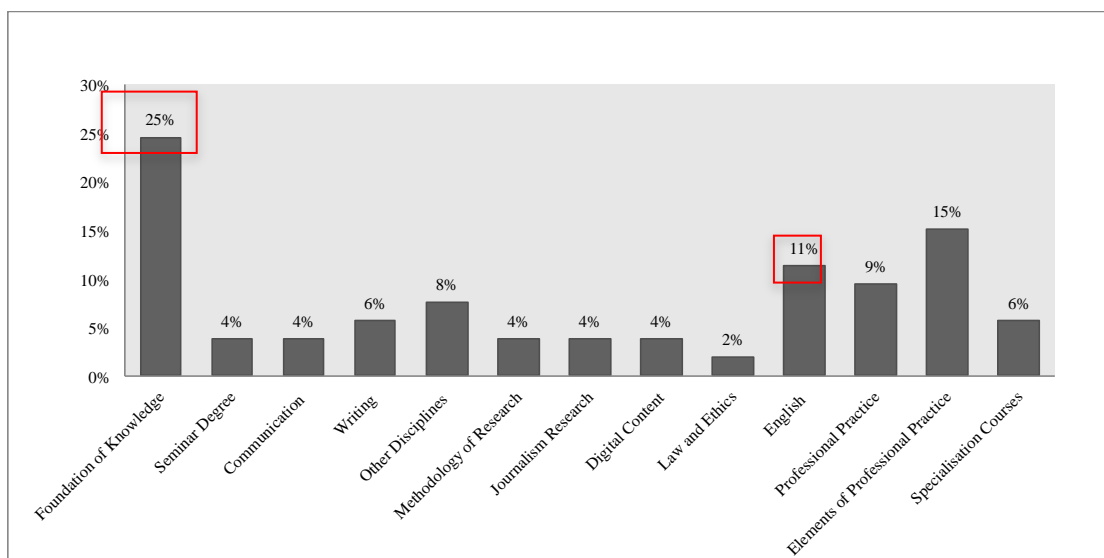
## Mapping the curriculum: Course overview

The undergraduate program of journalism education had a length of 10 semesters. In curricular terms, a course overview of 2004 to 2012 shows that 50 units out of 57 (if internship was considered as a unit it would be a total of 58) were compulsory units. The remaining courses belonged to three elective units, where four courses corresponded to general electives and eight to specialisation electives.

As Figure 37 illustrates, journalism education units at the University of Santiago could be grouped into 13 categories. 'Foundation of Knowledge' was the dominant category, with 25 per cent of the total courses delivered. It provided accessibility to units such as Philosophy; Social Anthropology, Economics, Contemporary Policy Analysis, Sociology, History, and Psychology.

There was an emphasis on providing units related to a second language. Eleven per cent of the units were in English.

Twenty four per cent of the courses were focused on the area of practice. Units included Informative Journalism, Interpretative Journalism, Television and Radio. The distribution of courses relating to mass media shows a balanced distribution, i.e. there was the same amount of units for TV, Radio and Press.



**Figure 37:** Categories of units offered by the University of Santiago excluding internship. **Source:** University of Santiago. Chile, 2012.

There is a balance between the categories ‘Foundation of Knowledge’ and ‘Professional Practice’. The results suggest a focus on generating a more equal distribution of knowledge, which allows students to participate in other types of conversations and analysis beyond their immediate tasks.

The distribution of units related to the category ‘Foundation of Knowledge’ is observed until the sixth semester. After that, during semesters 7, 8 and 9 there was a concentration of units of specialisation and professional internship. Within these units, it was possible to find courses such as Methodology, Law, Strategic Planning and Communication Management.

An examination of the unit outlines showed much pedagogical and general information on each unit such as: teacher, number of hours, semester, and expected attendance written in the program. Outcomes of expected learning from the course were also described; the relationship between the content of the subject and journalism as a discipline; values and attitudes that it was expected each student would develop through the course; and the lesson plan defining types of activities and methodology to be used in each unit. Most of the unit outlines are built in a structure of horizontal knowledge, where integration of different contents and levels of learning drive the subject.

Almost all of the compulsory units were allocated four hours a week per unit, while only Contemporary History and Informative Journalism had two hours a week. One hundred per cent of specialisation electives have designated six hours per week and 100 per cent of the learning outcomes are explicit in all the units.

Implicit and explicit curriculum develops values and abilities in each subject. Explicit values in unit outlines are: commitment to cultural diversity, consideration of the common good, continual improvement of democracy, respect for free speech, advocacy and promotion of human rights, respect for the legitimate right of people to obtain reliable, pluralistic and professional information and commitment to the community. There is a commitment to a professional education but also to orientation to the development of democratic values. An attempt is observed in each program to articulate disciplinary knowledge, values and skills specific to the profession.

As at Diego Portales University and Andrés Bello University, there is a selection of content at the University of Santiago that not only has technical, pedagogical components but which also contains political/ideological components. However, at the University of Santiago there is an explicit theoretical option. Units that are grouped in 'Foundation of Knowledge' are based on critical theory. Issues such as social movements and protest are presented as contents. Themes such as gender, ethnicity, race, social segregation and inequality are discussed through subjects such as Sociology and Fundamentals of History of Journalism.

Unit outlines show that at least 12 compulsory units explicitly defined content, which made a link between social dynamics and journalism. Examples include:

- Political Analysis unit explored themes such as social development, environment, political analysis as violence, democracy, governability;
- Economic Order unit integrated the issue of Movimiento de los indignados (The Outraged Movement);<sup>20</sup>
- Universal History, also incorporated the issue of The Outraged, but added other issues such as socialist regimes and the triumph of neoliberalism;
- Photography explored not only the technical aspects of photography but also enhanced moral aspects such as authors' rights.

In comparison to the other universities analysed, this university included a wider perspective of the world. There were contents focused on Western studies but also on Middle Eastern and Islamic issues.

Gender is an explicit content integrated within Sociology. Gender is approached from the perspective of issues such as inequality, segregation, and gender stereotyping. Specifically, the content was presented in the Sociology outline as: "Description and analysis of social issues that are generated from inequality. Sex, gender, ethnic and social classes" (Unit Outline Sociology, 2012).

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<sup>20</sup> The Outraged Movement is a political movement that started in Spain in 2011. The movement demands radical changes in Spain, includes within the political, economic and social systems. It is focused on social justice and has created a number of proposals to change the Spanish situation. The movement is based on citizen leadership through citizen assemblies. This movement has inspired movements in other countries such as Chile and Tunisia.

Electives are divided into three types: general electives, disciplinary electives and electives of specialisation. In contrast to the two universities mentioned previously, this university delivers just two general free electives. Disciplinary electives offered within journalism education are electives that reinforce areas not addressed within the compulsory courses. Those electives are: Sport Journalism, Investigative Journalism, Environment, Digital Journalism, and Public Relations. Specialisation elective units are defined in three areas: National Political Analysis, Current Economic Analysis, and Art in Chile. This is the only university that offers Art as a specialisation.

The Art specialisation unit is the only elective that demonstrates a clear intention to include female and male artists. The unit outline points out: “In the workshop students will present research documents and critical analysis of texts about female and male artists”. It is the only program that used an inclusive language to refer to female and male students and artists. During this unit, lasting two semesters, students are not only exposed to gender content, but must also engage with books and articles that analyse the subject of gender.

There is a combination of literature, disciplinary literature and films. The number of readings in the bibliography is significant. Students are required to read more than 400 documents during their studies. Of those where the author’s gender could be established, 318 documents were written by male authors, 64 by female authors and 19 by both male and female authors.

During the program, students are required to read at least four documents explicitly related to gender. These include: Sonia Montecino (1991), *Madres y Huachos: Alegorías del mestizaje chileno (Mothers and Huachos)* (1991); Gabriel Zalazar,<sup>21</sup> *Se Huacho en la Historia de Chile, Siglo 19. (Being Huacho in the History of Chile. 19th Century)* (1990); Rosi Braidotti, (2004): *Embodiment, Sexual Difference, and the Nomadic Subjectivity* (2004), *New Feminist Art Criticism: Critical Strategies*,

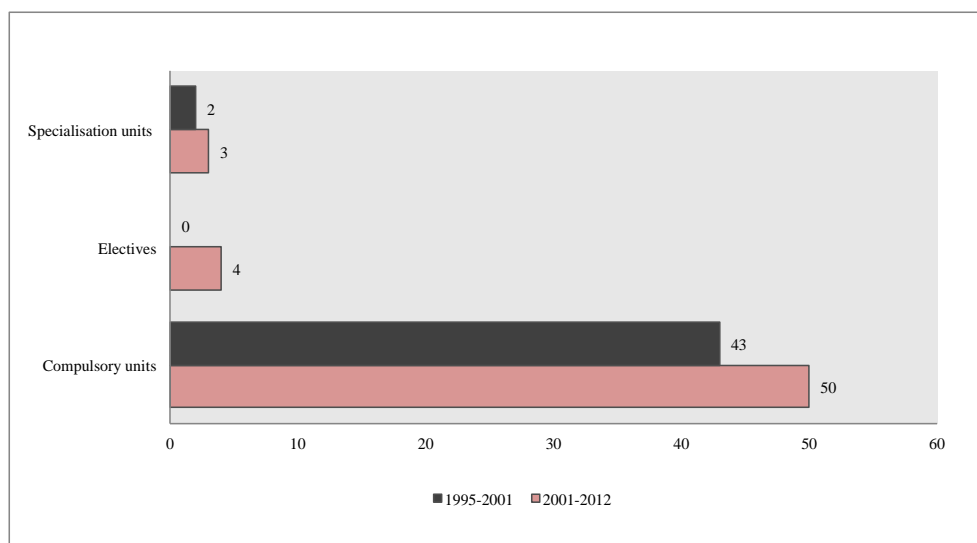
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<sup>21</sup> Gabriel Salazar is a historian and winner of the Chilean National History Prize. His main theoretical tool is linked to the Hegelian Marxism of the E.P. Thompson historiographical school. In the book: *Ser Niño ‘Huacho’ in the History of 19th Century Chile*, Gabriel Salazar carries out a political analysis of single motherhood in the social order of 19<sup>th</sup> century Chile. Likewise, the author explores how machismo and proletarian awareness emerges in the males born of unmarried mothers.

edited by Katy Deepwell (1995), an article by Blanca González<sup>22</sup>, *Los Estereotipos como Factor de Socialización en el Género* (Stereotypes as a Socialisation Factor in Gender) (1999); and another eight books and two documents from the Gender and Communication magazine that are not specified.

### Curricular changes

Figure 38 shows the changes that have occurred in the curriculum from the establishment of the journalism education degree since 1995.



**Figure 38:** Total number of units in degree courses, across periods, includes compulsory units (including thesis seminar), elective units and specialisation units at the University of Santiago. Source: University of Santiago. Chile, 2012.

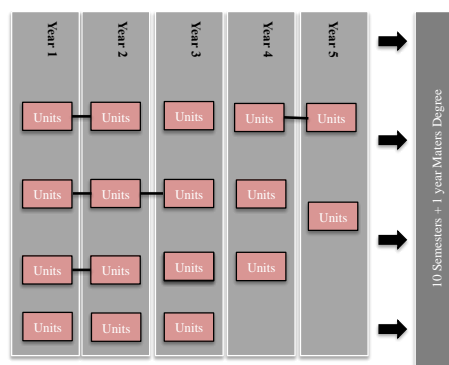
One of the most substantial changes in the curriculum has been the reorganisation of the structure, which has involved an increase in the number of units and the incorporation of elective units. Both the curricula of 1995-2001 and 2001-2012 have focused on providing a wide range of units related to the category ‘Foundation of Knowledge’. The curriculum structure is based on disciplinary knowledge with professional contents.

As Figure 39 shows, this curriculum does not define areas of development. Units decline at the end of the fourth year to concentrate on the thesis process and

<sup>22</sup> Social Psychology Professor at University of Seville, Spain.

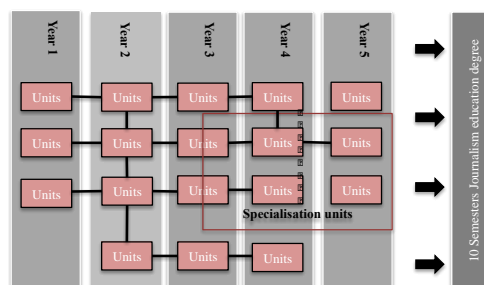
specialisation. The degree examination and the thesis defence are at the end of the 10th semester.

The 1995-2001 curriculum did not define specialisation as a part of the structure of the program. In fact, only one seminar unit, called Specialisation, was delivered as specialisation. It is possible that the units were based on disciplinary knowledge compatible with professional practice. Organisation was more dispersed in comparison to the previous curriculum. During all of the semesters, it was possible to find at least one unit related to disciplinary knowledge.



**Figure 39:** Curriculum structure 1995 - 2001. **Source:** University of Santiago. Chile, 2012.

From 2001-2012 the University of Santiago curriculum expanded its repertoire of disciplines associated with disciplinary knowledge, significantly increasing compulsory units. As Figure 40 shows, three main changes occurred: 1) the addition of a number of units of English Language as a compulsory subject; 2) the addition of units such as Organisational Communication, Strategic Planning, Methodology and Statistics; and 3) the incorporation of specialisation courses from semester 8.



**Figure 40:** Curriculum structure 2001-2012. **Source:** University of Santiago. Chile, 2012.

Like the previously analysed universities, this curriculum used the same strategy of marketisation of units through the use of non-disciplinary names. However, the

disciplinary name appears in parentheses. This suggests that the traditional name is necessary to clarify the contents of the units.

In summary, unit outlines have a recognisable corpus of basic values, competencies, skills and contents. An established core of knowledge was also identifiable which referred to disciplinary units relating to cultural, critical and also vocational knowledge. The restructuring of this curriculum aimed towards specialisation but without abandoning disciplinary knowledge. The current curriculum is focused on contents relating to social issues. Although there is a marketisation of the curricula, such a marketisation can be understood as a response to the marketing of education. The units have a remarkable emphasis in generating a more complex journalism in terms of disciplinary knowledge. There is some gender content, but there is also a clear intention to promote gender knowledge, which is expressed through some of the compulsory readings. The composition of the teaching staff, as in the other institutions analysed, is mainly male while student enrolment is characterised by more female students.

## **University of Chile**

### **The Beginning**

The University of Chile is a public university founded in 1842. Its first chancellor was Andrés Bello. The University was defined from its foundation as national, pluralistic, diverse, secular, pursuing excellence and opposed to class difference (Key Informant, 2012). Presidents, senators, national award-winners and Nobel laureates have been part of the university.

The University of Chile was the first university in Latin America to incorporate journalism as a degree, in 1953, as a part of the Faculty of Philosophy and Education. In 1971, due to educational reforms, the journalism school became the Department of Sciences and Communication Technology, joining the Faculty of Social Science. The direction and destiny of the university changed from September 1973, with the enforcement of the military dictatorship. The University of Chile and the Catholic University of Chile were the only two universities to remain open during the military regime. However, journalism education was considered by the



regime as a potentially subversive degree, so managers were replaced and journalism education was physically relocated. This relocation was to the former headquarters of the Chilean National intelligence (CNI), where many people were tortured and killed (see more in Chapter 3). At the beginning of the 1990s, with the return of democracy, the situation did not change substantially, the journalism school was still at the CNI headquarters and most of the teachers from that time remained employed. However, after a series of strikes in 1997, the journalism school education returned to its full function under the direction of Faride Zerán, a well-known journalist and the first female journalist appointed director of a journalism school. Throughout the period of her management, journalism education started to recover as a degree. In this time, the Department of Media and Communication Research was created, the curriculum was renewed as a democratic process between teachers, authorities and students; journalists of high quality and extensive experience were invited to participate in the new project and were included as part of the teaching staff. In 1999 the University of Chile, together with the Ford Foundation, set the Program of Freedom of Expression. At the same time the Master of Social Communication was reopened. However, it was not until 2002 that the journalism school was relocated from the headquarters of the CNI to the main campus.

One of the most important changes occurred in 2006, when a new institution, The Institute of Communications and Image, was created. It obtained the status of a Faculty, delivering two degrees, Journalism Education, and Film and Television.

The high quality of journalism education at the University of Chile was recognised on many occasions. Four of its teachers were acknowledged with the National Award for Journalism.

### **Admission criteria and prices**

The University of Chile, like the University of Santiago, has admission rates regulated by the public university system. To be eligible to apply to the university, students must have attained a minimum score of 600 between the PSU and higher education score. School scores required are higher than for the University of

Santiago. The school score has varied from 64 to 61, remaining the same during the last three years of the period studied.

Figure 41 shows the first, last and average higher education scores obtained by students. These scores define the potential entry to journalism education for each year. During the period, the maximum score registered for entry was 761 and the minimum 633. The higher scores show the higher level of educational performance that students needed in order to apply to study journalism education at the University of Chile, which means that only few are eligible for entry.



**Figure 41:** PSU scores required at the University of Chile 2006-2012. **Source:** Council of Higher Education. Ministry of Education. Chile, 2012.

A large number of students are from middle-class backgrounds. According to Mönckeberg (2005), 29 per cent of students came from public schools, 32 per cent from private schools that received a government subsidy and 39 per cent from private schools.<sup>23</sup>

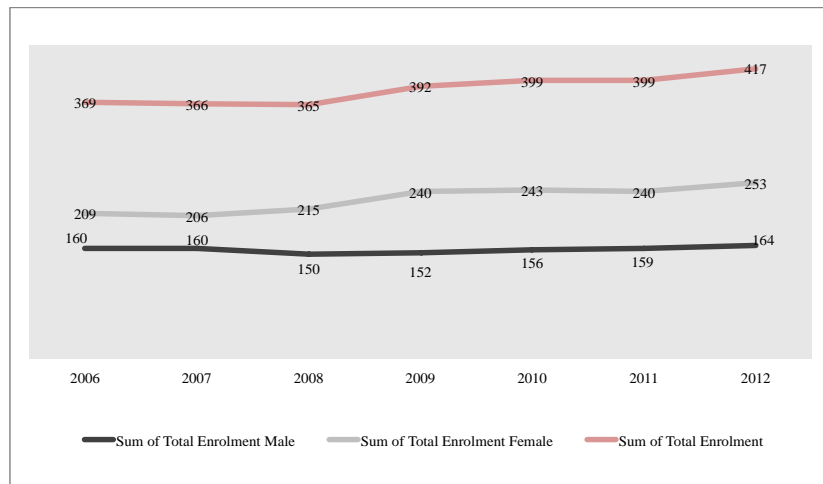
The price of enrolment in 2012 was \$105,700 Chilean pesos with an annual fee of \$2,570,400. This is equivalent to around \$210 and \$5,110 Australian dollars respectively.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Segmentation in Chile is a phenomenon that includes primary and secondary schools. Where a person's studies influence their opportunity of educational development but also in terms of social networks. In Chile class and education are intimately linked.

<sup>24</sup> Exchange rate applied late 2012.

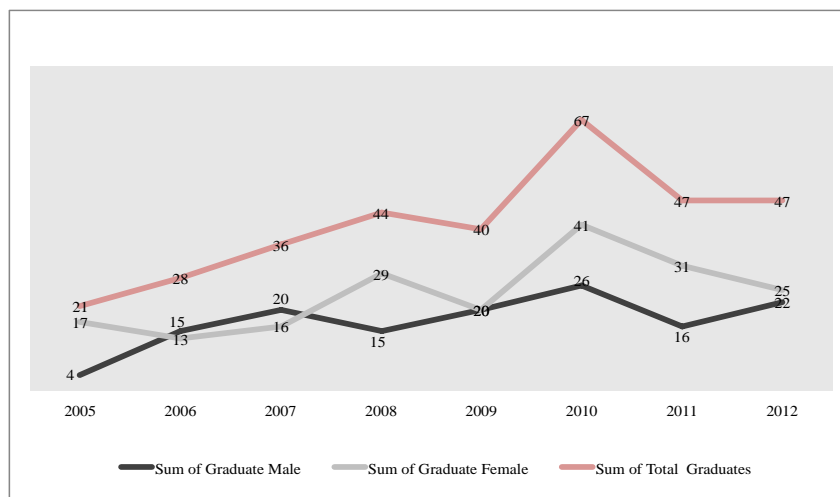
By 2012 enrolment numbers at the University of Chile totalled 26,481 students. Of these enrolments, 12,696 were female and 13,785 male. This number of enrolments was distributed across 51 degrees.

In the case of journalism education, there has been a 12 per cent increase in enrolments since 2006 (Figure 42). Most of this increase was due a growth in female enrolments. This result differs from the result of the previously analysed universities in the same period. This difference may be explained by a rise in vacancies to 2012, a fall in the entry score and the general prestige of the university, which tends to attract more people.



**Figure 42:** *Enrolments in journalism education at the University of Chile.* **Source:** Council of Higher Education. Ministry of Education. Chile, 2012.

Surprisingly, student graduation rates are similar to the other universities analysed. As Figure 43 shows, during the entire period the number of students graduating was fewer than 50 per cent of the total number of students who enrolled. Between 2005 and 2008, the number of enrolments increased by about 100 per cent. In the following year the number of graduates dropped significantly, but women were still the highest proportion.



**Figure 43:** Scores of graduates and egresados at the University of Chile 2006-2012. **Source:** Council of Higher Education. Ministry of Education. Chile, 2012.

A large drop-out rate of females and males is observed in the progression from enrolment to graduation. For example, as Tables 29 and 30 show, the total entry number in 2006 was 369. Of these, 209 were female and 160 male. From this generation only 16 per cent of females and 20 per cent of males graduated.

### Teaching staff characteristics

For 2012, the total number of teachers at the University of Chile was 2,968 (Table 44). Thirty-two per cent of the total teachers had a PhD degree and 19 per cent a master's. In terms of contract type, 45 per cent of the total teachers had a full-time contract, 40 per cent were contracted by the hour and 25 per cent were on a part-time contract. In the case of PhD teachers, 74 per cent were full-time teachers, while 6 per cent of the master's-qualified teachers were on full-time contracts.

Type of Contract	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Full time Teachers	1219	1199	1087	1215	1255	1292	1291	1342
Part time Teachers	449	504	408	457	490	436	444	441
Hourly Teachers	1855	1852	1863	1501	1472	1319	1275	1185
<b>Total</b>	<b>3523</b>	<b>3555</b>	<b>3358</b>	<b>3173</b>	<b>3217</b>	<b>3047</b>	<b>3010</b>	<b>2968</b>

Type of Contract	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Full time Doctors	78	75	61	90	91	82	80	81
Part time Doctors	446	428	410	500	546	596	631	716
Hourly Doctors	201	188	243	183	183	174	171	165
<b>Total</b>	<b>725</b>	<b>691</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>773</b>	<b>820</b>	<b>852</b>	<b>882</b>	<b>962</b>

Type of Contract	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Full time Masters	325	298	275	281	280	277	268	261
Part time Masters	122	116	101	121	129	109	120	130
Hourly Masters	404	244	263	227	214	183	174	181
<b>Total</b>	<b>851</b>	<b>658</b>	<b>639</b>	<b>629</b>	<b>623</b>	<b>569</b>	<b>562</b>	<b>572</b>

**Figure 44:** Type of teachers contracted at the University of Chile 2005-2012. **Source:** Council of Higher Education. Ministry of Education. Chile, 2012.

During 2013, journalism education had a total of 50 teachers, 24 females and 26 males. 30 per cent of the total teachers had a PhD degree and 48 per cent a master's degree. An examination of the PhDs shows that 53 per cent corresponded to female teachers (eight) and 47 per cent to male teachers (seven). In terms of masters-qualified teachers, the numbers were similar. The ratio was 54 per cent female (13 female) and 46 per cent male teachers (11 male). Four of the permanent teachers (three female and one male) have been awarded the National Journalism Prize.

The high number of women engaged in postgraduate studies may be explained by government efforts to implement a gender policy beginning in the 1990s and intensifying during the 2000s. The gender management program (PMGG) has been very effective, in the case of public universities. These institutions attained equitable participation of gender, promotion of women in management positions and scholarships with an equity perspective.

As with the University of Santiago, the University of Chile is characterised by high levels of political involvement by its members in social justice struggles, especially struggles involving free, quality education. Students and teachers have participated in hunger strikes and protests relating to human rights, including women's rights.

## **Annexed institutions and initiatives**

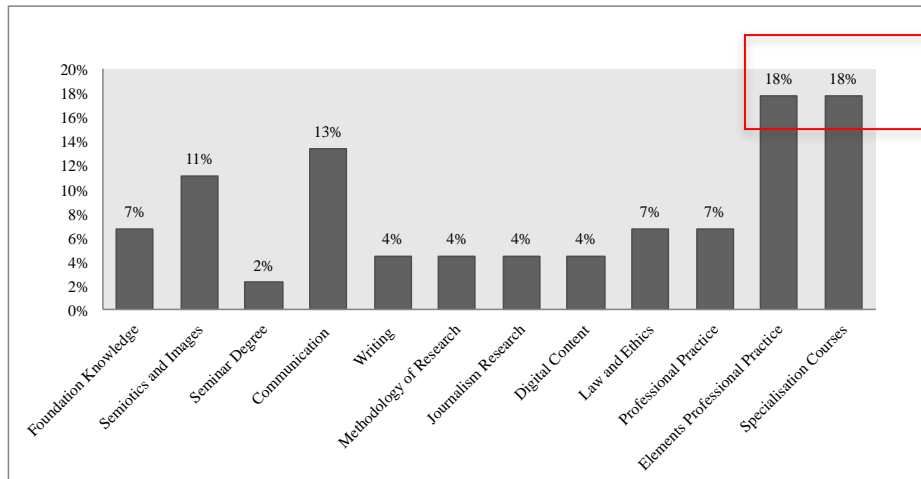
The University of Chile and its journalism school have played a significant role in the development of academic research in Chile. The university has promoted research from its vice-chancellorship by founding scholarships, which address journalistic investigation.

In 2003, the University of Chile founded the Institute of Communication and Image (ICEI). The lines of research defined for journalism education were: communication and power; visualisation; identity and culture; and freedom of speech and citizenship. This communication research centre is distinguished from other institutions because of the emphasis it places on academic journalism research. Since 2005, ICEI has carried out at least 30 studies, seven of which have a direct relationship to specific studies of gender in the fields of communication and journalism. Some relevant research studies are: Lagos, *Femicide reported by the Chilean press: another form of violence against women* (2007-2008); Antezana, *Trajectory analysis of Chilean women research from its scientific publication in Spanish* (2011); Amigo and Bravo. *Young people, reception and social use of discourses on sexuality and gender in free-to-air television programs with high audience*, a FONDECYT-funded research (2008-2010). The journalism school also publishes an academic journal, *Communication and Mass Media*, twice yearly.

## **Mapping the curriculum: Course overview**

The organisation of the units at the University of Chile in 2012 was based on 37 compulsory units, eight electives of specialisation, four electives of journalistic skills and four general education electives. As with the other universities studied, the University of Chile also provided the grade of *Licenciatura* in journalism education in the eighth semester. The degree title is obtained in semester 10 after completing all degree processes.

An examination of 2012 compulsory units shows that units could be clustered in 12 main categories. As shown in Figure 45, there are large numbers of units related to the category 'Professional Practice' and 'Specialisation'. It suggests a substantial emphasis by the university to foster specific competencies in their students.



**Figure 45:** *Categories of units offered by the University of Chile – excluding internship. Source: University of Chile, 2012.*

The ‘Semiotics’ and ‘Communication’ categories play an important role within the curriculum. These categories incorporate subjects such as: Mass Culture and Cultural Industry; Cultural Studies; Latin-American Approaches; Political Communication and Public Space; Contemporary Visuals; Semiotics, and Analysis of the Image. The University of Chile has taken an education gamble in order to enhance content related to Cultural Studies and Political Studies, which include units related to the category ‘Foundation of Knowledge’ such as Epistemology or the Problem of Knowledge, and Classics of Communication. For the University of Chile, these units can be seen to be a kind of fracture within the curricula, where the centre of the social conversation and the theoretical development of journalism education emerge. It would be here in these units where the theory questions the practice and the industry that underpins the practice.

Restricted access to the totality of studied programs makes it difficult to gain a detailed picture of development of knowledge during the period 2004 to 2012. However, the results suggest that the election contents within units linked to theoretical aspects had a defined political and social agenda. Units such as Right to be Informed, and Treatment of Information and Ethics, explicitly defined a human rights perspective. An example includes the learning outcome of the unit ‘Right to be Informed’ which explicitly states, “ensure and deepen freedom of expression from a human rights perspective and technological changes.”

Although there were a significant number of units related to vocational knowledge, theoretical areas had designated more hours per unit (four weekly) than units related to vocational knowledge (between two to three weekly).

The unit Crónica (Journalistic Timeline) and Society is the only compulsory unit that incorporates gender. Gender is included as inclusive language.

The category of specialisation courses in the case of the University of Chile is defined differently to the other universities in this analysis. In all other universities analysed, the category of specialisation courses refers to specialisation relating to journalistic competencies such as: Political Analysis, Art or Scientific Journalism. In contrast, at the University of Chile, specialisation courses refer to other disciplines of knowledge, i.e. Administration, Strategic Communication, Public Relations and Advertising Campaigns. Therefore the specialisation is focused on other disciplines rather than a consolidation of specific journalistic areas.

The University of Chile has three types of electives: a) general electives, b) journalistic skill electives, and c) specialisation electives.

a) General electives may be taken from any faculty, they are grouped into 6 areas: Mathematics, Philosophy, Technology, History and Social Constructions, Scientific Interpretation, and Culture and Symbolic Configuration of the World.

b) Journalistic skill electives are electives related to journalism but which approach social issues. The electives delivered are: Creation of Media, Rights of Children and Journalism, Journalism of Opinion, Community and Mass Media, General Education and State and Press, and History of Chile During the 20th Century and Society. The elective, Rights of Children and Journalism, is a special unit as it is delivered as a joint-effort between the Chilean Association for The United Nations (ACHNU) and the journalism school. ACHNU aims to contribute to the training of professionals in the rights of children, as well as supporting not-for-profit organisations to develop work in this area. These units aim to incorporate a gender perspective, discussing issues such as inequality, child abuse and rights approach.



c) Specialisation electives comprised of two areas:

1) Organisational Communication: this area includes units such as Strategic Communication, Internal and External Communication Management, Public Relations and Advertising Campaigns.

2) Management in Mass Media: this area incorporates units such as: Management of Media, Creation and Development of Press Media, Creation and Development of Audiovisual Media and Development of Projects.

Electives demonstrate a tension and complexity with regard to where knowledge is situated within the curriculum. The analysis of the data suggests that circulation and production confront the paradox between instrumentalisation of knowledge – to respond to the needs of the industry – and the development of disciplinary knowledge. This paradox is exacerbated when we consider that both positions imply political and ideological assessment of the education.

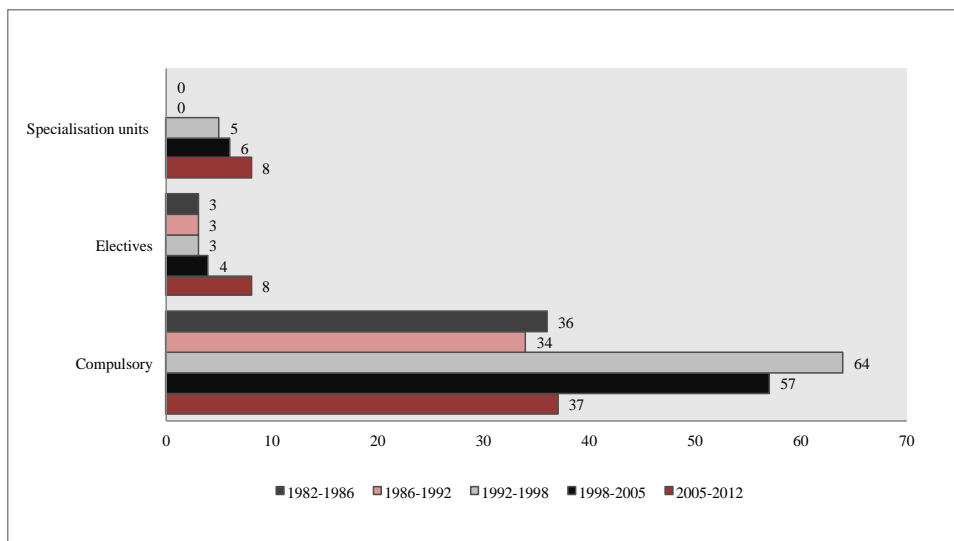
The tensions focus on whether to give students the tools and knowledge necessary to participate within social discussion and the development of theory or rather, focus on knowledge that responds to the pressures of the industry and an overcrowded degree. In this sense, the University of Chile is an emblematic case of ambiguity between content driven by industry, by the interests of the State and by the interests of civil society.

Due to the restricted access of the totality of unit outlines and the deficient condition of some of these, only 29 of the 53 unit outlines were reviewed. From the 29 unit outlines reviewed, students were required to read 238 documents during their degree. Of those, where the gender of authors could be identified, 179 were written by male authors, 44 by female authors and 15 by both female and male authors. There is one document which explicitly mentions gender. The name of the document is *Por un periodismo no sexista (Toward a Non-sexist Journalism)*, prepared by UNESCO in cooperation with the University of Chile. A significant number of articles and books used in the units are written by professors from the university.

## Curricular changes

Figure 46 displays how the course overview has changed from the early 1980s to 2012. Every curriculum change has led to an increase or decrease in study units. These differences are significant in that they provide an understanding of the different approaches to organising the knowledge within journalism education.

Figure 46 illustrates the course overview by year of execution.



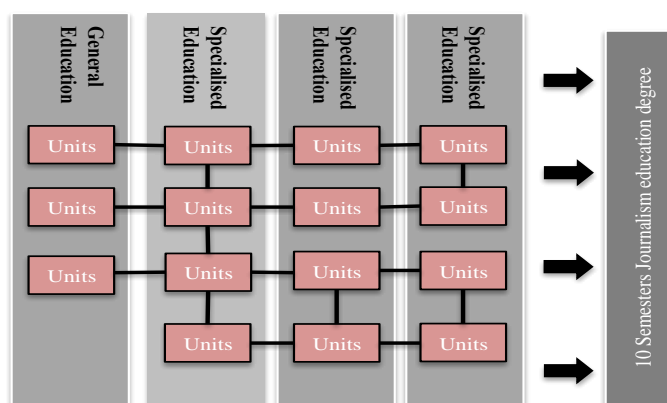
**Figure 46:** Total number of units in degree courses, in five periods, includes compulsory units (including thesis seminar), elective units and specialisation units at the University of Chile. **Source:** University of Chile, 2012.

In general, significant changes are observable. The curriculum created during the early 1980s was produced on the basis of a few general electives and a large number of compulsory courses, characterised as mostly related to the category 'Professional Practice'. In contrast, from 1992 specialisation units were incorporated. Since 1998, changes in the curricula focused on an increase in general knowledge and specialisation. Since 2005 the compulsory units, and especially units related to the category 'Foundation of Knowledge', declined dramatically, following an increase in electives and specialisation units. This growth in electives and specialisation was substantial in comparison to previous years.

An examination of the curriculum from 1982-1986 suggests that the curriculum was defined by general education, specialised education and electives. Basic general education was developed during the first year. Specialised education developed

during the second, third and fourth years with units specifically related to the field of journalism education knowledge. Electives were worth only one unit per year and were situated during the second, third and fourth years. Units were taught annually.

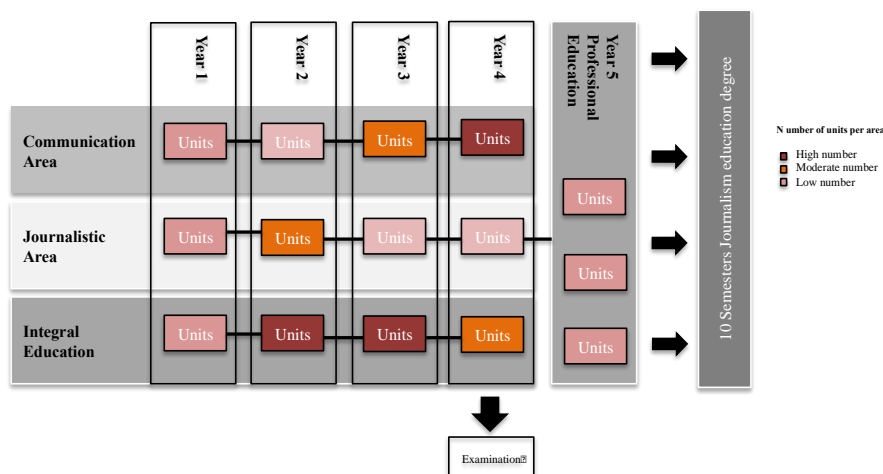
As Figure 47 shows, this curriculum was subordinate to the practice of journalism. Units relating to the category ‘Foundation of Knowledge’ were reduced to one year. Units such as TV, Radio, Public Relations, Sports Journalism, Communication, Photography and Editing were developed during the second, third, and fourth years, and redefined as specialised education. These changes coincided with the military regime’s intervention in universities, which suggests that the changes were carried out as a part of the regime’s agenda. The curriculum was reoriented to a technical curriculum in which units were stripped of content that could be perceived as containing any type of ideology or which might lead to the development of it. This curriculum was also short. Journalism education had a duration of four years and at the time was considered a technical degree. The reshaped and redefined curriculum not only brought change to the structure of journalism education but also to the emphasis in the dissemination of knowledge.



**Figure 47:** Curriculum structure 1982 - 1986. **Source:** University of Chile, 2012.

In 1986 there was an extension of the curricula of higher education as a public policy. Curricula from most of the different degrees were extended from four years to five. In the case of journalism education, this led to recognition again of journalism education as a professional degree (González, 2003).

As Figure 48 shows, there was a significant restructure of the curriculum. This curriculum was structured in base areas of knowledge defining different relevance to each unit within each area. Units were divided into two types: annual units and semestral units.



**Figure 48:** Curriculum structure 1986-1992. **Source:** University of Chile, 2012.

The university defined four areas of knowledge in this curriculum: 1) Communication, which included units such as Communication, Semiology, Social Communication, Methodology, Psychology of Communication, Models of Communication and Cinema; 2) Integral Education, which included subjects relating to the category ‘Foundation of Knowledge’ such as Philosophy, History, Literature, Methodology in Social Science Research, Political Science, and Human Relations; 3) Journalistic Education: This area incorporated units such as Television, Radio, Alternative Journalism, Journalist Writing, Photography, Interpretative Journalism and Press Legislation; and 4) Professional Education. This area was exclusive to the fifth year and was an area of specialisation. There was a slight increase in the number of units through the electives. However, the most important increase was in terms of hours given to each unit. Units increased from one and a half hours weekly in 1982 to three weekly hours in 1986. Although, each area had a different number of units, there was no difference in terms of hours, i.e. all units were designated with three weekly hours.

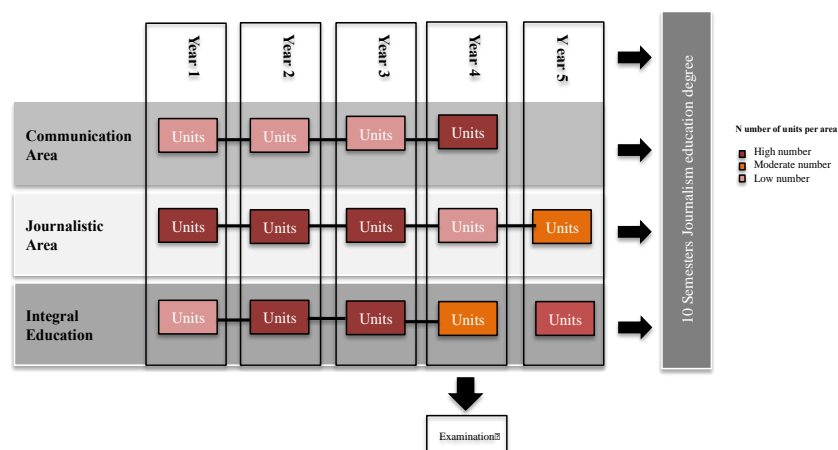
Areas 1), 2), and 3) were developed together until the fourth year of the program. Journalism education was only developed during the last year. In the complexity of

this curriculum, we see how the new dynamics – in terms of production, generation and circulation of knowledge – were demanded under the new economic order.

The structure of the 1992-1998 curriculum remained almost the same (Figure 49), however, the content and order of the contents, were modified. Specialisation was defined in two areas, both within the final year. This suggests the creation of a specific profile of a journalism student, based on the specialisation provided.

Although the structure of the degree was preserved, a major shift occurred in at least five aspects.

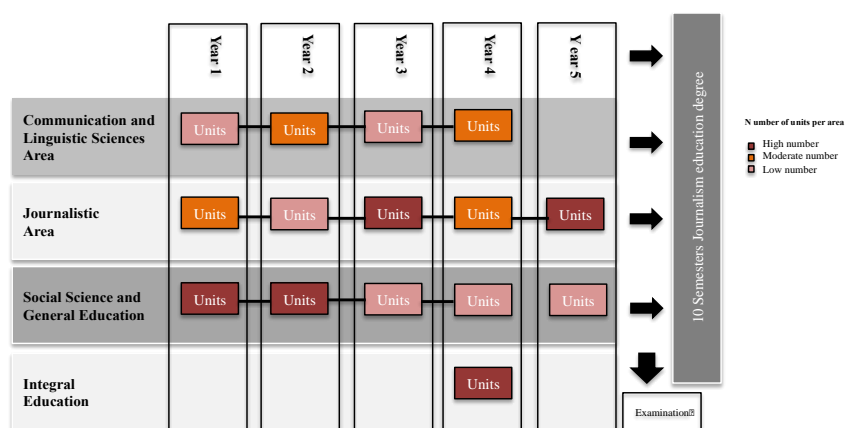
- a) There was a significant increase in units relating to the category ‘Foundation Disciplines’ such as Anthropology and Statistics. The increase in units implied a redistribution in the number of hours, equating disciplinary knowledge with vocational knowledge;
- b) The incorporation of Semiotics as a key part of the curriculum;
- c) This curriculum implemented new units such as Geography, Computer, Sources and Archives, and Aesthetics. It was at this point that computational elements began to be included in the curriculum as a new knowledge requirement;
- d) This curriculum was the first of the University of Chile to deliver Cultural management and entrepreneurship;
- e) A new *Licenciatura* grade was incorporated within journalism education.



**Figure 49:** Structure of curriculum 1992-1998. **Source:** University of Chile, 2012.

The modification of these curricula coincided with the restoration of democracy, which means that this was the first curriculum under the new political regime.

From 1998 to 2005 the university redefined four areas of knowledge. As Figure 50 indicates, the new areas were: 1) Social Science and General Education integrated units such as: History, Anthropology, Epistemology and Philosophy; 2) Journalistic Area integrated units such as: Writing, Radio Press Legislation, Photography, and Television; 3) Communication and Linguistic Science subjects such as: Psychology of Communication, Methodology of Research, Element of Art Aesthetics and Cinema; and 4) Integral education included subjects such as Political Science, International Relations and Organisational Communication. These areas were combined in different ways, depending on the year. The courses were built in a hierarchical structure, defined by the progression of learning rather than specialisation. One of the strong units offered was Philosophy, with three units delivered.



**Figure 50:** Curriculum structure 1998-2005. **Source:** University of Chile, 2012.

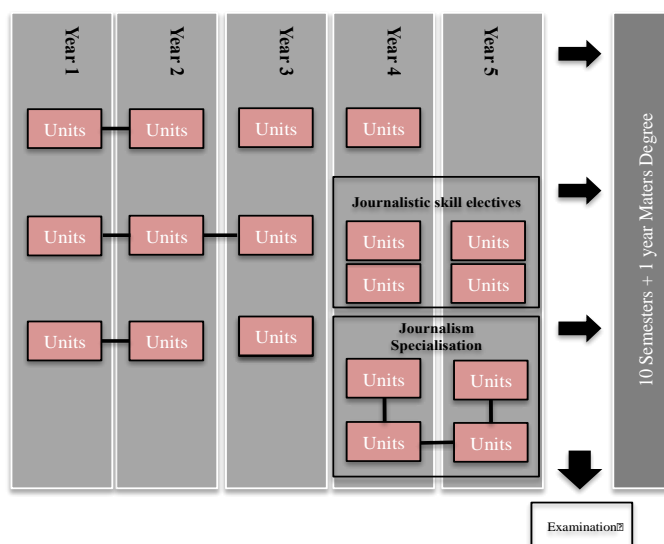
The number of hours per unit was reduced to three hours for almost all courses except Writing, which increased to four and a half hours per week. The emphasis could be explained by the deficiencies in writing skills that many students carried from their secondary education.<sup>25</sup>

The 2005-2012 curriculum had significant changes. It was characterised by a substantial reduction of units related to the category 'Foundation of Knowledge' and the disappearance of areas of knowledge. Figure 51 plots how the structure of the course changed radically; specialisation courses took a principal role within the

<sup>25</sup> As previously mentioned, many working-class students in Chile, who have working-class background attended a public school, have poor writing skills. (citation?)

degree. Courses in the category ‘Professional Practice’ underpinned the specialisation. The specialisation included two areas. One related to media and integrated units such as: Press Media, Editing and Audiovisual; and the other related to public relations, integrated units such as: Media Management of Internal and External Communication, Techniques of Planning, Creation and Execution in Printed Media and Multimedia.

Strategic Communication, Management, Public Relations, Entrepreneurship, Organisation were developed from semester 7 and were strong areas within the curriculum, which suggest a focus on communication contents. This was the first time that a journalism program incorporated freedom of speech unit.



**Figure 51:** Curriculum structure 2005-2012. **Source:** University of Chile, 2012.

In summary, the main changes included the incorporation of units that in some way reflected social problematics; this incorporation was executed by a negotiation with international institutions and specific public policies promoting themes such as gender or the rights of children. Another change, the use of non-disciplinary unit names suggests a marketisation of the curriculum. The curriculum per se, and its transition over successive periods, shows the tension and paradox the education system currently confronts. Curricular changes must be viewed from the perspective of the process of social practice configuration, including the conditions that produce the social practice that influences the implementation and development of the curriculum. In this case it could be argued that disciplinary knowledge within

journalism education could be understood as a social product marked by the social conditions of its production. Through the analysis of the curriculum of the University of Chile, it is possible to see how tension between social factions, political and economic policy and ideology reshaped the field of practice and the production of knowledge.

## **Conclusion**

At the present time there are similar institutional structures for the degree of journalism. Compulsory units, electives and specialisation elective units comprise overall units. Knowledge is hierarchically constructed and course structures tend to be rigid.

Universities currently deliver similar content. However, the type of curriculum that most of the universities promote tends to be mainly vocationally oriented.

Although the vocational approach is a common trend, there are differences in how the character of knowledge is addressed. Approaches to production and circulation of knowledge in the curricula of journalism education have varied, depending on the social and historical context where each curriculum has developed, as well as on the history of each organisation and the conditions in which they were created and developed.

Currently, the most relevant disciplinary fields are those related to professional practice. Emphasis has changed over time. Knowledge has been reframed, from a curriculum concentrated on theories and abstract conceptual knowledge to a more procedural knowledge or vocational one. In each of the universities analysed, more than 72 per cent of the content was professionally oriented.

Production and circulation of knowledge has been marked by political, ideological and market tension, which is expressed within the units offered. Likewise, a stratification of knowledge can be seen that is linked to the development of disciplinary units. Foundation of Knowledge units were linked to abstract and critical thinking and professional practice units to work-related skills.



In terms of gender, there is no specific unit that addresses gender as a subject within journalism education. There is no curriculum that has made gender a part of its units of study. Though there is some content in the unit outlines, this content seems to be explored more as personal initiatives than for educational or institutional purposes. Public universities have more clearly developed a gender issues component at different levels of the curriculum and the structure of journalism education. It is possible to see much parity in the teaching staff structure. There are inclusions of gender within the compulsory readings. However, this is still marginal.

The main content related to gender incorporated for some units of study is related to the need to use inclusive language. Only one of the 221 unit outlines considered gender in terms of the social dynamics of inequality and segregation, and the stereotyping of gender as a socialisation factor. There is a clear feminisation of student enrolment, which is not reflected in the teaching work force.

## **Chapter 5: Teachers' and Journalists' Experiences**

### **Introduction**

This Chapter aims to reveal patterns and provide insights into the configuration of gender in journalism education. While 35 life stories were examined, only six can be included. Presenting these six narratives eliminated the tendency to repeat issues. They show the complex patterns of the production of gender and the dynamics of gender within journalism education.

The life stories that are presented explore a collective memory that builds an understanding of the dynamics of organisational culture. The chosen histories look at different levels of gender dynamics and their interaction with the development of journalism education.

This Chapter seeks to demonstrate how life experience recollects historical facts and how gender structures operate at different levels and dimensions. The narratives presented follow a common template. They are from two full-time teachers, one each from a private university and a public university, two part-time teachers, one each from a private and public university, a journalist, and a key informant.

### **Peter**

Peter's case was chosen because it contributed to an understanding of how gender and the production of knowledge have developed in Chile, from both historical and academic perspectives. Peter is one of the only male interviewees who considered the connection between life trajectory and industrial teaching experience. He openly explored power relations and his own emotional connection to gender dynamics. His vast experience and knowledge of journalism and journalism education allowed for an exploration of different decades and the respective changes that took place in each period.

Peter was born in Santiago at the beginning of the 1950s. He has been married for almost 40 years and has children. Journalist and postgraduate in social science, he has explored different aspects of the profession during his career path, but has focused mainly on teaching and research. He is a recognised professor and

researcher in the social communication field, specialising in areas such as industrial relations, popular and mass culture.

The interview with Peter was conducted in December 2012, in an office at the university where he works permanently. The interview was recorded in Spanish and later transcribed and translated. On arrival, Peter invited me to a meeting room where he offered me coffee; he maintained this degree of thoughtfulness throughout the interview. Despite his many years of experience and his seniority, Peter was always generous in sharing his experience of every area I asked about. It is notable that, unlike some interviewees, at no time during the interview did I feel that Peter minimised or made my questions appear trivial. On the contrary, his attitude was one of, how can I help you to pursue your thesis? He acted more as a teacher than an expert during the interview.

At the beginning of the interview, Peter identified himself as “no specialist” in the field of gender. In fact he recommended another person as more appropriate to interview. However, from the start he stated that he would answer all my questions. Although it was stipulated that the interview would last an hour, Peter’s increasing enthusiasm for the subject led to an interview of an hour and 45 minutes.

### **Life trajectory**

Peter was an only child of a widowed mother. He grew up in a working-class environment in Santiago. He eventually attended an exclusive male public school because at that time Chilean education was segregated by sex. He started university just when the expansion of university enrolments began in the late 1960s. This meant that he could pay for his studies and select from a range of universities. Payment was means-tested, depending on the income of the family, in his case his mother’s income. At that time, according to Peter, entry to university was much more restricted than at present, in terms of the requirement of high academic standards combined with the few places available: “At the university where I studied, from 800 applicants, only 40 were able to enter. I also applied to another elite university where, from 1,200 applicants, only 40 were able to enter too. It was like a funnel”. Peter recalled how, at that time, it was not seen as necessary to attend university to construct one’s own identity or achieve a high socio-economic status:

“Entry to the university wasn’t seen as a *sine qua non*. Your life did not finish if you did not go”. Of the 45 students in his class, only 18 applied to enter university. The rest of his classmates went straight to work in different industries:

The entry to university did not have the traumatic character of today. If a child does not go to university today, he is almost a failure or he will need psychological therapy. If you do not go to university today, you are no one. It is perverse.

Like some of the other interviewees, such as Emanuel and Anna, Peter studied another degree before he studied journalism. Completing secondary school, he had not achieved very high marks at the PAA (specific test to enter university) and had not known what he really wanted to do. The combination of these situations led him to apply to study agronomy at a regional university in the south of Chile. After a semester, he realised he did not like agronomy and wished to become a journalist. The same year he applied to an elite university where he began his studies at the end of the 1960s. By that time, journalism education appeared as a “feminised degree,” as it still is today. Peter recalled that by coincidence, when he started the degree, his generation was the first to have a majority of male students:

All the previous generations had more women than men [...] it was really remarkable the number of women doing the degree. It was a feminised degree [...] in the context of the total years of the degree; that were four years. During all this time, there were always more women. It was strange.

The female students doing the degree when he went to university were from upper-class backgrounds: “They were from an upper class but not just any upper class. I mean upper-upper class”. In time, many of these female students were able to reach important positions; one became the dean of one of the most important communication faculties in Chile. Although Peter did not mention having suffered class or gender discrimination, he pointed out that there were important class differences within the university.

During his last year at the university, Peter was president of the student senate. This experience facilitated his attendance at a variety of journalism-related events. He mentioned that, at one of these events, there were almost 70 per cent women in attendance. He noticed that one of the senior managers of a university present at the seminar was a woman, aged 30. His experience suggests that, even though there were more women than men in journalism education, a female director was still a remarkable phenomenon, especially if young.

Peter described his experience of higher education within journalism as “multi-faceted”. Higher education was linked to many aspects of the development of an intellectual and political life, which included social life, debates, seminars, conferences, as well as involvement in politics. Peter started to participate in politics almost at the same time he started university. He joined a left-wing party that was very active as part of the resistance to the dictatorship.

Being a scholar of journalism also provided him with the opportunity to start working prior to finishing his degree. The relationship between universities and mass media was close and based on mutual need:

Once, someone from the radio came to the university to ask students if they wanted to work. Although I said no, because it was a lot of work, someone from the media always offered something, so you always had the opportunity to work if you wanted.

He said that he knew he would always have work because the market was not saturated, indicating a low level of competition within the labour market, as well as the fact that he had studied at an elite university.

Peter finished university at the beginning of the 1970s and married in his graduation year, while in his early 20s. He saw his decision to marry as part of a natural path to becoming an adult. This is a very different situation to what he saw today with his students, where adulthood appears to be a long-term process. The year after he married, Peter and his wife had the first of their four children. He described the instability and uncertainty of life as part of the construction of a relationship: “When we got married, we did not know how to live. We thought something would

turn up. You always had work, but you knew that something would come up”. Instability and uncertainty in life were not perceived through a negative lens. On the contrary, they were seen as part of a normal path of life. The year Peter married was also the year the dictatorship began, which changed many aspects of his life, including his career trajectory.

### **Industry experience**

Peter does not have much experience as a reporter. His interests have always related to research and teaching: “At the university I already knew that I was not a good news reporter. I wanted work in connection with a magazine where I could write something well-researched. Television did not exist at the time.”

Peter started his industry experience in the second-last year of his journalism education degree. During this year, he was part of a secondary labour market with poor work conditions. Casual employment with one or two jobs at the same time was seen as normal, especially if a worker had little experience. After finishing his degree, Peter found two jobs with similar conditions. Although there was casualisation – employment without pensions or health care – this was not seen as an issue for him. The pay was good, which allowed him to cover these aspects and, more importantly, “the market was not uncertain. You would always have a job.”

He described his jobs thus: “One was more professional and the other job more political; related to the party. I got good money”. At the “political job” Peter performed as a journalist in charge of generating political-historical articles focused on supporting and explaining the socialist fight. The magazine was openly left-wing, directly supportive of Salvador Allende and socialism. It had a limited distribution to a specific niche of people and Peter noted that he was totally involved in it.

The “professional job” was a journalistic job at a left-wing newspaper, which had wide distribution. His role here was to write newspaper columns about various topics determined by the newspaper. Although this job was also political, curiously, he defined it as less political. It appeared that mass production generated a different way to interpret and produce journalism.

After about 18 months, the coup took place and Peter lost both his jobs. “I worked until the 11th of September, till 8 am [...] because after that the newspaper was bombed, and the magazine shut down – both on the same day”. After these events, Peter never practised journalism again, not only for political reasons but also because he had aspired to work in academia. However, his dream had to wait until the beginning of the 1980s, when he began his involvement in teaching, as well as becoming part of a political education project.

In other passages of the interview, Peter compared the beginning of his working life with the situation he now sees his children experience. He recognised that the instability and uncertainty that he had experienced during his life trajectory was completely different from the uncertainty he saw today. To Peter, the labour market has become “voraz” (voracious):

The situation is much more competitive and individualistic. Each person has to look after his or her own bull. If you do not, someone will take or kill it. I see my son; a historian, sociologist, and doing a PhD overseas. He is over 30 and his situation is completely unstable – only projects and casual jobs. He works full-time, day and night. He got married and has a daughter, but with a huge level of instability. I worry about all my children.

### **Teaching experience**

For Peter, practising journalism and working in a journalism school was almost impossible. The restrictions imposed by the dictatorship influenced the practice of journalism. The circulation of information was minimal and control was extreme: “Entry to academia was impossible. The ideological control was absolute, and also, journalism schools were closed and disassembled.”

Ironically, Peter’s entry into teaching was made possible by the market reforms established by the military junta, grounded in the emerging dominance of neoliberal economic philosophy. At the beginning of the 1980s, reforms enabled the creation of several new educational institutions:

The dictatorship created a new system of higher education that allowed private initiatives and which included three levels of higher education: universities, professional institutes (IP) and centres of technical training (CFT). It gave the opportunity to new entrepreneurs to open new universities or IPs or CFTs. Most of the people who opened any of these institutions were supportive of the regime. Not many, two or three, were opposed. It was there where many left-wing academics that were expelled from the universities went to take refuge, including me.

Peter and two other academics decided to open an institute that would eventually be transformed into a university. The initiative allowed him not only to be part of academic staff, but also to start a political education project. Although he was one of the university founders, he did not retain an executive role. The business dimension of education was not an incentive for him.

The restoration of democracy in Chile in the 1990s brought hope for Peter of a reformation of the higher education system, when “some of the notions of public education were reconstituted”. However, this did not occur. The economic model that had been launched during the 1980s was intensified. His main disappointment was that the period not only allowed an economic model to settle but also shaped a production of knowledge based on a specific “consulting model”. Peter provided a clear picture of this new way of production:

I know people who had set up study centres in journalism, for example. What happened, the centre functioned for a couple of years, people wrote a book and then it was closed. Or the head of the organisation left. There was no continuity. It is complex because it was impossible to build a field of research where you could see people from this university are working there for 20 years [...] As a lot of us who hoped to get funding from a FONDECYT<sup>26</sup>, OK, you won it to research and write a book, but you have to win another FONDECYT to continue and, what happens, you do not win, and in-between you need to live. You have to live and you have, to do classes to live. Another thing that happened

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<sup>26</sup> The Chilean National Fund for Scientific and Technological Development.



here in Chile is that if you did not have funded research the university did not recognise it as a part of your research work. It meant that you could not say, 'I am researching journalism in 19th century Chile, only with the material of the library'. No, you could not do that. It was not recognised as your workload or as research. You had to be funded.

There has been an intensification of the dispersion, fragmentation and discontinuity in teaching, reflected in the difficulty of guaranteeing a career as a higher education teacher:

It is difficult to develop a career path. The consulting model was validated during the 1990s, which did not allow academics to be shaped in specific areas. It did not allow the formation of teams, where you teach the next generation and the next generation teaches the next generation, and so on. There is not a production of knowledge based on, if I leave or I die someone is going to continue the work to generate an accumulation of knowledge [...] it does not happen in a consulting model because this model responds to applied research that looks for results and not to understand something.

Peter has been teaching for almost 35 years. In his current university he has taught for a couple of decades and holds a permanent position. He has the grade of professor, which means, in terms of work conditions, he is in a stable position and fully recognised academically.

Peter described the journalism school education as comprising a wide range of teachers including journalists, sociologists, philosophers and others. According to Peter, most of the teachers at the university had no knowledge of pedagogy and no pedagogical skills: "90 per cent of the teachers are not university teachers. It is curious because you learn to do classes there. It is like, OK, go and do it, just like this". A lot of teachers have developed pedagogical skills as a personal initiative. This is changing: "It is true that now, some universities, including this one, generate internal pedagogical training". However, his generation learnt on the job and in discussion with other teachers.

Peter reveals how different generations coexist within the same institution, spawning a complex organisational culture. In terms of teaching and training requirements, Peter has some privileges that other younger teachers do not have. He is excused from attending training courses or needing to account for his career development. But for the new generation, training courses are compulsory: “There are a lot of different instances of teaching development that the administration asks for, of the younger staff. They do not ask me to do it, because of my age.”

During the interview, Peter frequently commented on how the model of education has changed. He said he did not cease to be surprised at what he called “the new higher education model”; he expressed annoyance and frustration at how higher education, and especially journalism education, has rearranged the priorities of teaching and academia: “Here, the expression that they use is, ‘what is your productivity?’ [...] so here everyone is forced to compete for the ranking and for everything. It is horrible.”

Peter reveals a new conception of managerial priorities, which in the public sector of higher education has generated a new relationship with the production of knowledge. This relationship seems to be tense. The priorities of academics differ from those of public policy or institutional interests. Tension arises from the impossibility of researching and generating knowledge beyond the interests of the establishment.

Peter’s comments imply both a high level of theorisation and strong emotions. They reveal an emotional attachment to intellectual labour connected to a more political and ideological dimension. This emotional attachment, connected to a political and ideological dimension, has been the key component that has helped Peter to resist the transformation of the field and of the intellectual labour market, particularly the transformation of his field to a more vocational education.

Another issue that teaching has become highly bureaucratised. Peter portrays it as follows:

We have a large amount of demands that come from everywhere. We are evaluated by the university, but we are also considered public

employees and we are evaluated and marked on that as well [...]. On top of that, we are hierarchised academically, within what they call the *carrera académica* (academic path) and you are ranked as a professor, associate etc., and also, it implies several quantitative measurements of your 'productivity'. So the administrative aspect of teaching is heavy. It demands that a full-time professor has to teach undergraduate students and postgraduate students plus mark and deliver all the lectures,<sup>27</sup> as well as be part of a funded research project. Research that is not funded does not get taken into account. We are evaluated every two years.

Peter noted that the university has changed its organisational structure to become more productive and appear more transparent. He said that this had provoked the implementation of new bureaucratic procedures that increased the difficulties of becoming a permanent (full- and part-time) journalism education teacher:

A model has been installed that, from my point of view, has debatable merit, but is highly socially valued. It is the famous competition for a position, where you have to apply for the position. So now it is more difficult. Now no one can follow an academic career from the beginning of his or her degree. How will you get experience if you cannot have experience? Plus, an academic starts to earn decent money after 35. The only way is to have an intellectual father who tells you, no worries, I am so happy, so I will support you.

The final phrase is a joke that also demonstrates how becoming an academic in a public university has been transformed into a privileged position within the elite. Yet informality is still part of the culture of the public institution, mostly related to casual jobs.

Peter was critical of trying to understand journalism education from the practice of journalism itself: "it is impossible to intend to reproduce the logic of the profession. Even if you look at the university, it does not look anything like a newsroom. So you cannot reproduce the logic because it is absurd and it is a lie to the students."

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<sup>27</sup> Teaching in Chile is done by one teacher. Lectures include tutorials but these are done by the same teacher. A teacher manages two or three classes with between 15 to 45 students.

Peter did not discuss his own teaching practice and its relation to gender in-depth. He described his practice as, in his professional judgment, an approximation to the profession: “If I cannot reproduce professional logic, then what do I teach? I teach criteria and professional judgment. These are criteria from organisational logic, in the logic of achievement, in the logic of responsibility, in the use of language.”

## **Gender**

Peter grew up in a single-parent family; his father died when he was young. His mother played an important role in Peter’s life in terms of the construction of his image of women, which he referred to as “strong and generous.”

Peter attended a single-sex school, which meant that, despite his mother’s significant role, he built his personality and identity in a masculine collective practice: “We were 45 males in my class, 45! You can imagine. Some of them knew that after finishing school they had to work, while others, like myself, went to university.”

His wife has worked since they married. Although they have four children, all boys, she has always worked. It seems, over time, they have produced a family where the division of labour has been distributed equitably. Both of them have been in charge of the upbringing of their children, which means that he has developed a model of involved fatherhood. He has not only been closer emotionally to his children but he has also been involved in their education and rearing. However, he feels frustrated seeing how the current economic climate of the Chilean economy has generated a high level of work unpredictability: “I see them [his children] with a high degree of instability. I can see it with all of them and you feel as if it is happening to you.”

Although Peter did not talk about gender dynamics within his workplace, he referred to his colleagues (both female and male) with affection and respect. At different times during the interview he recognised the work of female colleagues who try to embed gender within the curriculum. Peter mentioned that, even though he did not work specifically in gender as an object of study, he fed his classes with research by his colleagues on the issue: “There are some female teachers and one

male teacher here who work with a gender perspective, so I feed my classes with their research.”

Although Peter was trying to be sympathetic to the incorporation of gender, his narrative reveals how he expects a gender perspective or gender knowledge to be generated by a minority, and generally by female teachers or researchers. Likewise, his words reveal how the production of knowledge circulates as an input to enrich teaching practice, but only in an informal way.

From this context, Peter attributed an important place within teaching to research in gender and social issues in general: “Themes exist only if someone research studies them. If there is only one teacher researching gender and doing classes, so it circulates in a formal or informal way”. Though Peter’s narrative empowers research as a way of resistance to keep social issues and gender alive, it draws my attention to the fact that most of the interviewees who discussed gender tended to include it as part of a broader social issue. Most of them were unable to talk about gender by itself or as a field or discipline. There is a resistance to discussing gender as a field of knowledge (see more Chapter 6).

During the interview, although Peter attempted to discuss gender, most of the time he was theorising rather than talking about it. There appears to be a difficulty in recognising and describing the dynamics of gender in its varying levels of complexity. Peter’s tendency to intellectualise and analyse the subject was also observed in other interviewees; to the point of an observable pattern emerging. Reviewing the interview, it is possible to see an ambiguity in the narrative of gender, the difficulty in gaining a picture of how gender and gender knowledge production is understood. It is clear that ambiguity does not imply lack of gender. On the contrary, as we can see in Peter’s interview how gender is implicit in his narrative.

### **University, curriculum and industrial relations**

In curricular terms, the main problem recognised by Peter was the insistence by some schools of journalism to attempt to imitate the industry, focusing on underpinning practice and omitting many disciplinary components of the

curriculum which, according to him, was an error because each institution had different aims and roles.

Peter's case illustrated the tension between ideological and theoretical conceptions of journalism education and its relationship with the media industry. In contrast to Anna, Peter believed that these tensions did not affect the relationship with the industry: "I think that the labour market does not despise universities. However, this relationship is only related to students and their professional practices."

Peter noted that the relationship between universities and the industry is built mainly on a relationship based on student internships which Peter, translated as supplying a labour force to the mass media market but not an exchange of knowledge. As Peter pointed out:

Beyond historical-political junctures, the student will find where to do his professional practice or where to work [...] but this does not have a relationship to the type of production of knowledge that we do here. No one is interested in our production.

Peter reinforced the point, mentioning that, although his university is recognised by the industry as a radical left-wing university, the media industry still preferred those students because of the prestige of the university and because "the university has some of the best Chilean students in academic terms."

In this sense, it is conceivable that the media chooses students from specific universities who would ensure quality in terms of professional skills. As Peter described it:

Some mass media companies provide positions for practice but not to everyone. *El Mercurio*, for example, only recruits students from this university and one other elite university. The media do not care if our students declare themselves left-wing or secular. They want them.

The mass media industry does not seem concerned as to personal ideologies or any perceived institutional ideology of the university where the student attended. Mass media and future intellectual journalist workers appear likely to forge an

instrumental relationship. The industry uses them as a labour force and intellectual journalists use the industry as a place to work.

Peter was the only interviewee who brought a new aspect of reflection regarding the relationship between the university and the industrial curriculum. This new aspect was the relationship or link with academia and society. Peter stated that the problem academia faced was not only in relation to generating links with the media industry but also in generating links to civil society: “The field of the intellectual is really small in Chile, and it is concentrated. Not only are his links to the media weak but also his links with society, are constantly more limited and distant.”

Such distance appears not only to be about concrete relationships between society and the university, but also highlights how the university is able to approach social problems and generate social perception. Peter explained that authorities are aware of this distance between society and the university and between the university and industry:

There is almost a neurotic desire to be linked. To be linked is valuable. If you say, ‘I will go to a secondary school to talk about television’, this is highly regarded, but there is almost nothing in the formal curriculum that works in this link. Plus, the university wants you to talk on television and talk about anything, as if being in the media is a type of link with society, but, no. Sometimes journalists ask you incredible things that you cannot answer. The university wants to appear in the media.

It seems that the university is aware of the need to create links with the community as a part of its responsibility of public duty, but at the same time it appears as if the links were important because it allowed the university to promote itself within the community, rather than construct valuable links. In this way, the university experiences a tension between public interest and self-marketing.

## **Conclusion**

Peter’s trajectory shows how the conception and motivation to enter university has changed over time. Peter’s case illustrates how a university education has been

transformed as a necessary path in order to construct a life trajectory. The commodification of education seems to have brought with it the “promises of social mobility and improvement of economic status”. Whether this occurs or not is discussed in the next Chapter.

The traditional model of academia, in which teaching is seen as an accumulation of knowledge and skills, has been displaced by a “consulting model”. It appears that this lack of knowledge accumulation has provoked a weakening of the profession status and therefore the difficulty in guaranteeing that journalism education could be identified as a discipline.

Peter’s case also shows how commodification of the university has provided students from different social backgrounds with the opportunity to study. However, this does not necessarily mean that these students will have the same opportunity on finishing their degrees. Segregation seems to appear at different levels: there is an academic segregation; an ideological segregation between universities in terms of type of knowledge and values they promote; and there is a segregation based on university prestige derived when the industry chooses future journalists. In this respect we could say a class of universities, teachers and students has been created that also has been identified as first-, second- or third-rate. It is notable that Peter pointed out that, at university level, there was no sex segregation.

The communication market absorbs students independent of their ideology, which shows an instrumentalisation of the university as a supplier of labour rather than a producer of knowledge. The labour market of journalism created by the industry seems to show an awareness that students will accept the implicit subordination established by industry in terms of culture and values, due to their need to become part of the workforce. This implicit subordination can be seen to create an homogenisation of intellectual identities via the annulment of the histories and ideological positions of the students, as well as of journalists in general, which includes gender as knowledge but also as a product of culture.

According to Peter, most of the private universities have more informal procedures to incorporate teachers within their staffing structure. Public universities are under a



rigid bureaucratic system. However, there are some exceptions, especially in the case of casual teachers, when employment is facilitated by informal invitation.

In terms of gender, this case demonstrates how Peter did not feel part of the production of gender as knowledge or gender as a part of culture. Although Peter had a notion of gender as a social issue and was aware theoretically of its production, he did not recognise at first that he was involved in gender relations and gender production. Most of the cases presented show that there is a tendency to discuss gender as if it were an issue outside of the individual's everyday practice.

### **Pedro and Clara**

This case is a combined case study. The discussion involved a member of Colegio de Periodistas de Chile (the Chilean Journalists' Union) while the other was a member of Circulo de Periodistas de Chile (the Chilean Journalists' Association).<sup>28</sup> Both were classified, for methodological purposes, as key informants. Both of the interviewees hold high status within their respective organisations.

A combined case study was chosen because, in Chile, there are different types of entities that represent journalists. Each entity has a different role but all struggle for the rights of workers and their welfare. The main aim of this case is to show the thoughts of the representatives of journalism in Chile on the subject of gender.

The interviews were carried out at different times. I interviewed them in their offices located in the same building but on different floors. Due to the intensive workload that both interviewees have, each interview lasted only 45 minutes. The interviews were done in Spanish.

Pedro is in his late 50s and Clara in her mid-60s. Both are experienced journalists. They come from a history of political activism and very marked trade union involvement and are both overtly left-wing. Pedro has had a more diverse life trajectory and industry life.

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<sup>28</sup> See History of journalism Chapter 3.

Both Pedro and Clara were open to sharing their points of view. The main difference I noticed was their approach to the interview. Clara was concerned that she did not know about gender and what was happening with the issue in the intellectual world. In fact, before the interview Clara asked some of her friends who were involved as academics in gender issues about the current situation of gender within journalism. Pedro did not talk much about gender. In fact he avoided the topic. He was more interested in talking about the journalism situation in general. He had a more political approach to the interview. Clara's story is characterised by a strong commitment to her political position and lack of managerial position.

### **Life trajectory**

Clara and Pedro both come from middle-class families from Santiago. Pedro and Clara had different life trajectories. Clara came from a traditional family. She completed her secondary education in a Catholic school for girls. She was able to study at university due to her excellent school development. She first studied law, but changed to journalism because she realised, inadvertently, that this was her true vocation. Clara began to participate in activism and politics at university. From her first year she was a member of the student representative council. During her life of activism she further developed her sense of humanity and social justice. She was part of the Izquierda Cristiana<sup>29</sup> (Christian-left). Clara finished university in the late 1960s, just before Salvador Allende became president and when university, agrarian and social reforms were in full swing. This time was significant in political terms, in Clara's words: "My higher education experience had much to do with the context that the country was living. It was very important for young people at university." Clara recognised, as did other interviewees such as Carolina and Maria, that academic teachers were significant figures in her life. These teachers introduced Clara to professional and personal skills, such as academic rigour, clear communication research, which she identified as key contributors to her professional life. She married and had three children after finishing the journalism degree. She has been married for almost 40 years.

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<sup>29</sup> This was a Chilean Christian-left party, which existed between 1971 and 2013. This party was founded after the Christian Democracy Party cooperated with right-wing forces. As a protest against this cooperation, many people from the Christian Democracy Party left the party. Thus, ex-members of the Christian Democracy and MAPU (United Popular Action Movement) created the Christian Left Party. Many of its members were persecuted, exiled, tortured, disappeared or executed.

Pedro, meanwhile, studied at an all-male public school. Like Clara, he made good progress during his secondary education, which enabled him to enter university. He started university at the end of the 1970s. Pedro's situation of studying was much more complex than Clara's in terms of its political and social context. He started to study when the dictatorship was in power; a time characterised by repression, confrontation and fear. His university was under intellectual control. There was a heavy-handed censorship that impeded the circulation of radical literature and everything that might be perceived as Marxist. All left-wing teachers were removed from their positions and a considerable number pushed into exile. Pedro was imprisoned twice during the military regime. He did not want to talk about this during the interview.

Pedro was always involved in politics, but was linked to more radical organisations than was Clara. Currently, Pedro does not belong to any party but he declared: "I have a left-wing political orientation, but I have the disposition to subordinate it to the *interéses gremiales* (Trade Union interests) to strengthen the union of journalists." He married during his 20s. He has been divorced twice and has former *de facto* partners. He currently lives with one partner and one child, although he has other children from his previous relationships.

Both Pedro and Clara spent their adult lives under the Pinochet military regime. Their paths of life and work experience were shaped by it. Both of them had the privilege of studying at elite public universities, although the political context did not provide the best conditions in terms of intellectual freedom.

Their lives changed radically with the advent of democracy, especially for Pedro, who experienced a significant improvement in his career. He went from being a "newshound" to the main editor of a business newspaper in the mid-1990s, then chief executive of a national newspaper, part of the journalist trade union and, at the same time, a consultant for an important research, management and communication consulting firm.

Over the same period, Clara continued working in NGOs related to the resistance, such as NGOs that then changed to institutions focusing on reparation. It was at the

beginning of the 2000s that she became a member of the Association of Journalism representatives.

### **Teaching experience**

Clara and Pedro both have teaching experience. Although Clara has been offered opportunities to teach classes on numerous occasions, she only accepted on one occasion. Her work experience has been driven by her political activism and her trade union career. In contrast, Pedro has some experience as a teacher. He started working at an elite university in the early 1990s. Since he started teaching he has taught in four different universities, both public and private. His experience has been sporadic, i.e. always combined with his cooperative and union work. Ironically, despite having an important role at The National Union of Journalism, Pedro has never had a contract as teacher. He has been doing casual teaching since he started teaching. Like Carolina or Clara, all of his teaching roles have been obtained through personal links.

Pedro's narrative of teaching experience does not describe the routine of teaching. Like many interviewees doing casual teaching, it is difficult for them to explain their teaching routines because they do not really have one. They express opinions or theories on teaching, but are far from able to provide a fuller opinion on the intellectual production routine of teaching. Like John, Pedro does not talk about education as a contribution to the effectiveness of the practice of journalism.

Pedro constructed his own opinion of journalism education and education in general. Neoliberal ideology of education has played an important role in the transformation of the system: "I think the market drives universities. Universities need students to pay, and they give to them what they think is going to be useful for the future". Pedro insisted on basing his criticisms of education and teaching on economic and pragmatic arguments, leaving aside cultural or social arguments.

Clara did not have to work long before she started to understand the dynamics of teaching in journalism education. She pointed out that there is a big difference between being a teacher in a public university and a private university, particularly if the private university is not an elite private university. She acknowledged that,

within private universities the quality of education is poor, and the conditions of employment precarious: “almost all the teachers are contracted by the hour”. Her personal experience as a teacher had been short; she had not wanted to assume responsibility for contributing to an increase in the degree of stratification.

Clara:

I was a teacher for a year, and then no more. That was enough; I could not do it again. It was against my principios (principles). When you work in one of these universities (private universities), you know they do not care. Students who could not get a good mark to enter a public university will enter these universities and the private universities know this. And they do not do anything, not even to help the student [...]. With the level that the students are at, it is impossible for them to improve, so they are forever bad. I have heard editors say, ‘it is horrible. I cannot understand how this student could become a journalist’. Personally, I feel ashamed, embarrassed too.

Clara was not alone in describing her feelings about the profession using words such as “ashamed” or “embarrassed”. Other interviewees, such as John, expressed the same sentiment. There was identification with the occupation that provoked a special emotional relationship with the profession, particularly when a question arose about the quality of journalism education and journalism in Chile.

Pedro and Clara were critical of the quality of journalism education that universities provided today. Pedro identified two main issues in terms of content. Firstly, he argued that there is a lack of critical skills within the curricula, which does not allow students “to understand that things could be done differently”. Second, there is a “content stratification”, in which a technical education competes with a disciplinary education. According to Pedro, it generates a separation of journalism education between, “universities that base their education on critical theory and therefore are far from the labour market, and universities that are focused on their students joining the labour market and nothing else.”

Both Pedro and Clara recognised the separation of journalism education from a more social role. They noted a big distance between the universities and the civic and social aspects of journalism education, as well as union life. According to both, this feeling of distance is considered regrettable by most union members.

Clara:

Today the content is minimal and banal, instead of generating social awareness, culture and so on. It is something really sad and is a feeling widely shared by all of the members. This is something that motivates conversations at different moments [...]. It is a shame that there is a priority to teach sensationalism rather than to attend to the needs of the citizen [...]. Education has not helped people to become members of the union; there is not an education that delivers collective knowledge or values. Today, students fight to have a job; to have a better economic situation; for a better position; to be appreciated.

### **Industrial experience**

Pedro and Clara have had different paths of industrial experience. Although both have been involved in political activism since their youth, their industry experience has been very different. The most obvious difference is a labour path marked by a social focus (Clara) versus a labour path marked by a political and more managerial role (Pedro).

Clara started working in small journalism jobs during her second year of university, but it was not until she finished her degree that she got a full-time job. From the beginning she worked in jobs related to social justice or social issues. Her first job was in an NGO, where she was in charge of a program of leadership for peasants.

Clara:

I was lucky to have the opportunity to work with peasant organisations. The work that we did included a radio program, elaboration of documents with important information to peasants, and also training in communication for peasant leaders. I am so proud of having worked on

the team. Some of the peasant leaders then became well-known leaders of Central Unitaria de Trabajadores (CUT, the Chilean Workers' United Centre).

Clara's lack of personal ambition, her closeness to a more religious/political life and her sense that the only way to change social dynamics was to work with grassroots communities, drove her to be linked to more social/political work. However, at the beginning of the 1990s her life changed and the cultural struggle too. The transition to democracy drove the production of knowledge and the labour force into several contradictions, which impacted both Clara's and Pedro's lives.

Clara:

I started to work at a newspaper – super happy! I worked two or three years but then I got disappointed. Everything was focused on the purely professional aspect of journalism. Before, I was working at The National Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture [...] and before that, in a communitarian project with teachers [...] beautiful work. But then with democracy everything changed. Work was something more professional. You did not tell anyone that you were doing something good for someone.

Her approach to unions started in this context. According to her, the arrival of democracy, ironically, provoked a still greater separation between professional and activist life

Clara:

I started in order to fulfil a personal need. I was part of the Christian left-wing when democracy arrived. So I was used to not only being part of the Christian left-wing; you lived it. So when it finished, I had a sensation of emptiness and it was then when my friends invited me to participate in the association and then I started to be part of the board.

Clara brought her activism life into union and association life, trying to make this world embody her ideals of social justice.

Pedro did not mention what he did during the period of the dictatorship. He began his narrative of his practice as a journalist during the democracy. He recollected that he was working as a journalist at the beginning of the 1990s in a newspaper and also at a radio station. At the end of the 1990s, Pedro began his managerial position in different companies until he decided to dedicate his time to the trade union. His work trajectory appears more ambiguous than Clara's. Although he has been part of the corporate world, he does not seem to have lost his left-wing ideology.

When I asked him about the practice of journalism, Pedro told me about the politics, ideology and logic of journalism practice. He described the practice as a continuing challenge that involves personal and political decisions.

Pedro:

I remember I was reporting a case [...]. I said I should interview the boss [...] no one told me; I thought that it was important. So I found him [...] I do not remember how I got him, and I interviewed him. So I did the interview and then I published a whole page with a picture. That afternoon, one of the newspaper owners called me and told me that this person must never again appear in the newspaper. So I had two options: to quit my job or find another way to talk about these issues that I was raising [...] these are the levels of risk that you need to assume as a journalist. There is always a space of possibility to express what you want. But it is true that sooner or later you will pay for it. In my case, I quit.

Pedro showed how he brought his style of politics to his work, to a clearly more radical degree than Clara. Clara and Pedro agreed that the heritage of the dictatorship was the culture of fear that today is still used by most of the mass media companies in the practice of journalism. The culture of fear today appears to be used by mass media companies to control the production of knowledge and circulation of information. The fear of losing one's job or suffering declining labour conditions has forced journalists to maintain the status quo of the ruling class. This is aggravated by the concentration of media in Chile and the oversupply of journalists. Clara and Pedro provide an example.



Pedro:

Journalists say to you ‘I have to look after my job’. There are only two big business groups and if you fall out of favour with one of them, your possibility of getting work is halved [...]. Recently happened that, a young journalist wrote to me to let me know of a massive layoff at a national newspaper. When I said that we would provide union support, she said, ‘please do not name me. Do not say I gave you information’. In another case, a journalist was abused by someone very important [...]. She did not want to press charges for assault. She said, ‘I do not want to do it because I know that I will lose, and this person is too powerful and I’m not going to find a job anywhere afterwards if I do’.

Clara:

There is a culture of fear that forces journalists accept without opposition. However sometimes they do not have to do anything because journalists will censor themselves because they have fear of going too far.

Both Clara and Pedro agreed that this residual culture has transformed the capacity of journalism to be part of resistance, but had also transformed the relationship of journalists with the trade union and journalists’ association. There is a fear among some journalist of being linked to a political party or politics in general. According to Pedro: “Many people think that being a member of the trade union or the journalists’ association means being seen to be in a political party and maybe [...] but the main point is that they have a fear of being identified as part of the union”. The need for keeping a distance seemed to allow journalists to feel more linked to practice rather than to ideology. Pedro exemplified this when he recalled something related to him by a journalist: “In the Union and at the Association there is the politics, and the journalists who aren’t associated with the Union or Association are the professionals”. Pedro described this attitude of apathy and the rejection of the association, which begins as a form of fear, as “anarco-liberal” (anarcho-liberal). This, he explained, is when “independence means not having any commitment to anyone; where any critical expression from the political world is rejected.”

It was interesting to see the different paths taken by Clara and Pedro in terms of their labour trajectories, but even more remarkable to note how these differences helped construct their identities through a conception of journalism that includes notions of activism and political life.

## **Gender**

Clara started the interview acknowledging that she did not know much about gender (similar to another interviewee, John). She was so concerned about this that the first thing that she did when we met was to apologise for her lack of knowledge in the field.

Clara:

Sorry, I feel very uninformed, so I decided to ask some of my friends that have worked in the field. They told me that there is very little on the subject. It seems that only NGOs and one university have done some research in gender. Also, at United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (CEPAL) there is a manual for the handling of gender in mass media [...]. A friend mentioned that Carolina Muñoz also works in the field.

Pedro's approach was to avoid talking directly about journalism education as it related to gender. During the interviews, Clara and Pedro never spontaneously raised gender as an issue or as a part of the conversation. However when talking about their trajectory of life and work, it was possible to see how gender relations and a gender order were constituted in their routines of interaction.

Clara comes from a traditional family and formed a traditional family herself. She has been married for almost 40 years. We do not learn much about Clara's home life but we learn about the dynamics of gender within politics and trade union life.

Clara's career trajectory within the Journalists' Association was slow. She worked hard to be recognised. She needed to generate allies and gain support from powerful and more experienced politicians to become well positioned. The need of a "good father" in her case was the key to get the position she currently holds.

Clara:

First, I started as a part of the welfare of the union. I was there for two years, two periods, and then with a professor – he invited me – we applied to the executive of the Association. He was the president and I the vice-president. After this term, he pushed me to consider applying again, but I did not think I could do it. I used to say to him, ‘No I do not think I can do it’ but he always said, ‘you can and you will’, and in the end he was right. Here I am. This is my fourth term.

Clara has been the only woman, since the foundation of the Journalists’ Association in the 1950s, to reach such a high position within the institution. She saw the experience as an extension of her activism. According to her, the key role of the Association was to protect journalists since the majority of members were older male journalists who had little worker protection. Most had no pension or health cover.

Clara described the members of the association as often being womanisers, which hints at the traditional attitudes to gender relations held by many of the male journalists.

Clara:

Journalists have always been womanisers, and it brought problems with their families and their children, so now they are old and alone. Many of their children reject them so they do not get much help [...] so we help them economically, with benefits, with medical consultations [...], we also have a psychologist that looks after some of them who have depression problems, also especially older male journalists.

Pedro does not have a conventional family structure. On the contrary, he described his emotional life as unstable. Although he did not speak in detail about his family situation, he appeared proud of how he had produced his own extended family. This patriarchal notion of family is something that he revealed during the interview. Being a father of children with different partners is something that appeared to give him a great degree of satisfaction. An expression of his masculinity may be seen on

his Twitter account, where he has written as a part of his self-description: “children, two partners, two wives [...] a life well lived.”

When Pedro described his experience, he never mentioned how difficult it was for him to obtain a position or to gain support from his political colleagues. His experience as a leader started at the end of the 1990s when Pedro began his managerial career, and since then he has been part of a patriarchal ruling class.

The experience of attaining a leadership position has been different for both Clara and Pedro. Clara first approached the union via a position connected with social work. In contrast, Pedro was never expected to start from the bottom. During the interview he was very political and, when discussing his work trajectory, gave no sign of any fears or insecurities he may have had around attaining leadership positions. This hints at a tradition where men have held leadership roles within unions and the Journalists’ Association, which in terms of gender theory, demonstrates the masculinised gender regime within these institutions.

When asked directly about gender, Pedro pointed out that there were some initiatives in the area, but did not mention what they were. Pushed by further questions, he responded that gender was more a personal interest rather than a collective intellectual movement within journalism education. He mentioned, as Clara had, Carolina Muñoz as one intellectual working in the field. He turned to talking about the quality of journalism and the current situation of journalism; themes that were his strength.

Clara and Pedro agreed that gender was not a theme within journalism education or journalism. They acknowledged that there had been some initiatives from public policy, especially during Michelle Bachelet’s first presidency (2006-2010). However nothing had had a genuine impact. Clara indicated that this lack of interest was not only from male journalists or intellectuals, but was generalised.

Clara:

When I asked my girlfriends they said, ‘you know I never cared about gender. I am not interested in it. Maybe I was before but not now’. This assertion has been really recurrent in all of the answers that I got. Now I

think they are more worried about having a job or keeping it rather thinking about gender.

### **University, curriculum and industrial relations**

Like other interviewees, such as Paolo, Carolina, Anna, Maria and Tomas, Pedro believed that universities, especially their curricula, were driven by the needs of the market rather than the development of the discipline.

From Pedro's experience in four different universities, he noted that the curriculum of journalism education seemed to be divided depending on the type of university that delivered journalism education. There were two approaches to journalism, one more theoretical, delivered by public universities, and one more focused on the labour market, delivered by private universities.

As a union representative, Pedro is not optimistic about the future of journalism. He thinks that the quality of journalism would be very difficult to improve. He is able to see, in his students from a public university, the will to raise alternative projects of journalism that generate a type of "communicational resistance". But these were not capable of influencing the large national debate, mainly because they were marginal to the system.

The relationship between the union and the industry is very tense. Pedro recognised that this tension is based on the ideological perspective of what journalism should be and the role that the union should have.

Pedro:

I would say that they have a market ideological conception of journalism, and the quality of journalism is bad. There are almost no ethical parameters and they think that should not exist in an institution that evaluates ethics.

This tension is more intense when the industry is involved in postgraduate education. Due to the privatisation of education in Chile, some mass media

communication companies, such as *El Mercurio*, deliver postgraduate courses. To Pedro this harmed not only the educational system but also journalism itself.

Pedro:

They deliver an education that is linked to the interests of the journalism industry [...]. They are against the union. They do not want us to exist because they do not want an entity that ensures the quality of anything. In terms of the universities, there is some connection, mainly through the funding of three or four research studies that the union promotes around pluralism in mass media and currently in a project about continuing education for journalists.

Clara did not talk about the relationship because there is no link between the Journalists' Association and the university. Even though they have some joint events, such as book launches or promotion of the recruitment of journalists within The Union and the Association, there is almost no link between them.

## **Conclusion**

There is a pattern that shows that there is not one intellectual journalist identity; there are different identities of journalists that are defined by labour processes and historical content combined with personal trajectory and ideological positions. This case shows us how activism and political ideology can be part of a career path, especially in a generation that lived most of their youth under a military regime.

Throughout the narrative of the interviewees, it is evident that historical changes in the production of knowledge go further than the influence or manifestation of a new economic model. Social dynamics have changed and people and institutions within them have also changed.

Clara and Pedro were critical of the contemporary quality of journalism education, especially of private education. They highlighted the institutional variables that impacted the types of knowledge produced and its quality. This criticism was not only expressed in terms of content. There was also a more emotional approach that revealed a disappointment regarding the professionalisation of journalism. This

professionalisation was viewed on two levels: firstly, the industry as a social institution, and secondly the professionalism of individuals, professionalism that depended on the journalist. From this perspective there is a clear disappointment about the professionalism of journalists and their practices.

In Pedro's statements there was much more reflection on the theoretical implications of the economic system and its ideological position. For instance, Pedro argued that production of knowledge and communication were only a problem of the economic context. Yet, he did not recognise that knowledge production and communication were social relations.

There was acknowledgment by Pedro that the production of gender knowledge is small and this production is identified as a personal interest rather than a discipline in itself.

There is almost no reflection about gender as a discipline. However analysis of the trajectory of life reveals the dynamics of gender in the journalism field, especially in Clara's case. There is a perception of a masculinised gender field. The incorporation of women within the institution seems to need the support of a man, which suggests that these institutions are ruled by masculinised elite that limits the power positions of women within these organisations.

## **Tomas**

Tomas is in his late 40s and is married. He has a Masters in Communication and Political Science. Tomas defines himself as a journalist and a consultant in mass media research although he has been a casual teacher for many years.

The interview took place in a coffee shop in Santiago for an hour in November 2012. Tomas met me on time and the interview needed to be fast, due to his workload. The interviewee focused only on his industrial experience. There was no conversation about Tomas as a teacher because he had been contacted in his capacity as a journalist.

The relationship Tomas established during the interview was fraternal and in general he was open to answer all my questions. He approached the interview

always as a journalist, avoiding discussion of his personal life. It appeared that Tomas established this distance as a means of maintaining professional decorum. Tomas had a high level of theorisation of the industry that made it difficult for me as a researcher to “read between the lines” and meta-theorise his thoughts.

The interview allowed for exploration of industrial experience as well as the structure and dynamics of the mass media industry.

### **Life Trajectory**

Tomas came from a middle-class family. He has two children and he has spent almost his whole life in Santiago.

He started journalism education during the 1980s at an elite Catholic university. His reflection on his experience at the university was marked by criticism of its conservatism: “When I studied at the university, the dictatorship had intervened there. It was another time. It was a little bit bipolar. The university had values but a lack of freedom.”

At the time Tomas was studying, the military regime was at the height of its activity. The Catholic Church was divided between factions that supported the regime, such as Opus Dei, and factions that did not, such as the Jesuits. Tomas’s university was sympathetic to the regime, which meant a reduction of freedom of expression, according to him. However, his perception of the degree was overall positive.

He recognised that his journalism school was very different from the rest of the journalism schools in Chile. It was privileged in terms of resources but also in terms of a lack of pressure from or persecution by the regime.

Tomas finished his journalism degree at the end of the 1980s and immediately started work in the mass media industry. He worked as a journalist for almost 15 years in different media such as radio, press and television. After this period he decided to make a change in his life. Tomas started to study for a master’s degree in Social Science and at the same time he began to work in mass media research. In a few years he went from being part of a group of people doing media research to



being the director of media studies at a large national TV station. He worked in the field for a long time, until he decided to seek new horizons and reinvent himself. In 2006 he decided to become independent. To be able to do that he started a consulting business and gave some classes at universities.

Although Tomas did not talk about his private life, the way that he approached his life trajectory was quite particular. He spoke mostly about his career but especially about his achievements. He portrayed himself as a successful journalist and researcher in media.

### **Industrial experience**

Tomas has been working within the mass media industry for more than 25 years as a journalist and as a researcher. Like other interviewees, Tomas avoided discussing his own experience in journalism as a practice. On the contrary, he answered most questions as a researcher and an expert in media. He described his experience in terms of the logic of someone who has seen thought and analysed from outside of the practice and not from his own practice. Thus Tomas could be defined as a conceptual thinker.

Tomas acknowledged that the journalism industry changed since he began to work in it. He recognised that journalism changed radically during the 1990s, after the dictatorship, focusing mainly on entertainment and abandoning social issues. He noted that it occurred, particularly in news content. Tomas attributes this change to an agreement between the mass media and government authorities to ensure governability in the first instance, and to an intensified mass media business in the second instance. From the middle of the 1990s, Tomas sees at least two milestones that influenced the notion of information as entertainment. Firstly, the economic model of the mass media industry changed: television was privatised and some TV stations were sold to international conglomerates, such as Open Television Channel 11, which stimulated a new notion of information and the relationship with the audience called “info-entertainment” (infotainment). Secondly; the information model changed, diversifying the audience. The working class was included as a part of the audience, as a potential consumer. It is observed especially in relation to the

retail sector. In this sense, neoliberalism and its expansion expressed in the mass media more intensely after democracy was established in Chile.

Tomas noted that media consulting work is unstable, but allowed him to be independent and therefore able to choose what, where and when he does research. Being a consultant had allowed Tomas to look at his work and the industry from a distance and see the changes and the transitions that the mass media had experienced from the beginning of the 1990s until now. He has seen how the production of news has changed but also how individuals have changed in terms of the way they produced journalism and the logic of this production that built the everyday agenda of the media:

Having been there for many years, it has allowed me to see the evolution of mass media but also the mental processes of those who make the media, and what they consider relevant to build the agenda of the media in everyday life.

Tomas has been able to analyse and have the freedom to theorise the changes of journalism beyond his personal interest. According to Tomas, the main changes during the 1990s were based on a political agreement. Media and political authorities established an alliance to consolidate the governance of Chile. For Tomas, this alliance defined a model where consumption and consumerism dominated information and where the citizen disappeared, replaced by a notion of the audience as consumers. Thus media were opened to utilitarianism and entertainment:

Today news has to sell. You have to make news stories about consumerism and understand the audience as consumers. The agenda of news began to blur from a social dimension.

In terms of working conditions in this new model – as other interviewees noted – journalists have become unprotected and the conditions of work have worsened. Labour flexibility and fear of job loss were consolidated within the industry.

Tomas described his past job as a research manager in the industry as being a difficult time. His job was to evaluate programs and content and also do audience

analysis within media. He pointed out that, even though this was a job done within a company and for the company, there was a lot of resistance to listening and nourishing their own work. Tomas explained that when he and his team showed the results of their research findings, other teams in other areas did not have the capacity to process the information and the insights from the studies. In general, he noticed that the information that he and his team generated was not used or translated into practice:

There is no skill and capacity to use the information in a creative process. In a way, research could be valid academically but its practical use is poor because work teams within the industry have few intellectual tools to process the information.

He described how the information produced from these studies was circulated between some specific teams and mainly only between managers. Therefore, there was an elite that always has the information but not the general journalist or worker.

Tomas portrayed people within the industry as people “doing dirty sociology”. In Tomas’s view, everyone within the industry gossips and comments about how bad a program is. However, the first point of evaluation was in terms of ratings and only then if what was done had good or bad qualities.

To Tomas, what drives the selection of content and programs is business. The managers who lead program projects will look for cheap projects that turn social issues into profit: “Who leads media projects generally reduced the content to the commerce field rather than to the social field.”

## **Gender**

During the interview Tomas never discussed gender until asked directly. Even though he knew that the interview was about the production of gender knowledge within journalism education, he did not mention or approach gender until I did.

The distance that he established from these terms is notable. In the light of this behaviour, Tomas opened another dimension of the process of my research, which

is the challenge to extract a meta-analysis of his story from this defensive professional setting.

Tomas defined gender by relating to his work experience as a researcher: “as a category, a really particular subcategory, I would say. This category has not been understood or dimensioned in journalism and even less so within the industry.”

Asking Tomas about gender, he replied immediately that the mass media and press were not interested in gender. He referred to the lack of production of gender content as a generalised phenomenon of the media; he felt that not only was gender sidelined by the media, but that many other social issues were too.

As with other interviewees, Tomas discussed gender as one issue within others. He attributed the lack of gender content in news to the conditions of production of journalism. These conditions, according to him, exist because immediacy does not allow editors and managers to look at information as something with repercussions for social groups: “The main problem is that the media works around itself and in a dynamic focused on an immediacy that makes it really difficult to be able to improve itself.”

He explained that the only thing that the media understands as gender is the right of women to be recognised and to be part of the public space. He theorised that the notion of women that the media has is a notion where women have roles in which they have to be helped, such as the role of mother, but at the same time worker and wife. This emphasis on the roles of women is based on a commercial interest to generate profit:

Women are treated from a perspective that puts emphasis on the general interests of women [...]. It was there when the advertising started. All the tips to women, sales, household data, tips on everything and anything. So women are treated as people to whom you have to give tips: not for them to understand social situations.

From Tomas’s narrative it is possible to observe that he is critical about what has happened in the industry. Yet, Tomas spoke as if gender were something that was outside and in which he is not involved. He gave a coherent, theorised and rational

opinion about gender in the mass media industry. However, his views of gender were still traditional and focused on what happens to women rather than seeing gender as contained within the dynamics of relationships between individuals.

### **University, curriculum and industrial relations**

Tomas did not talk specifically about the structure of the curriculum. He stated that journalism curriculums fulfil their function of providing tools to students to be able to work in the future. However, for Tomas it is the mass media industry that shapes journalism and its practice, i.e. journalists would learn the practice of journalism in the industry.

For Tomas, being an outsider from a university could help identify some differences between public and private universities. This difference is marked by the management of the institution and by the marketing of the degree. Tomas thinks that most of the public universities, and only one private university, have a real interest to research gender because it creates the possibility of accessing some economic resources, as well as a potential increase in the university's ranking. He is sceptical about any real interest in improving education, even in terms of incorporating social issues as an agenda within the university. He believes that there is more interest in improving marketing than education and journalism itself.

In terms of the relationship between the mass media and university, Tomas argued that there is dissociation between the industry and the university: "You do not study as you work. There is a big difference". The main problem from Tomas's perspective is that the logic of universities in terms of knowledge is much more global than in the industry. Within the industry, journalists have to be specialised in an ambit that generally is not what the journalist expected:

You studied something at the university and you got your specialisation but then you started working and if I got a job in economics or in environment, I will work there, not because I am specialised in it, no, it is because it is the work that I got, although it was not my specialisation.

Tomas recognised here dissociation by different institutions that are connected but driven by their own economic interests:

The industry is motivated by profit. Universities, on the other hand, some are doing research but the rest are doing business. Selling degrees. You can teach poorly and nothing happens, but if you want to teach seriously you are labelled a critical intellectual.

In this respect, Tomas has a negative and pessimistic view of the relationship between universities and the mass media but he especially has a negative view of the industry in terms of intellectual development. During his experience within the industry, Tomas has seen a low standard of intellectual requirements. He noted that when he was working, his colleagues only read what they had to read and maybe other newspapers, but nothing else.

## **Conclusion**

While talking about his industrial experience, I realised that Tomas did not talk about practice itself as a process of production i.e. what being a journalist means, or what he did while he was a journalist. He did not talk about practice inside the labour market. On the contrary, he talked about the market itself as a driver of journalism production.

As we can see from Tomas's case, the neoliberal model has played a role in establishing a regime where competition, work insecurity and fear of unemployment are three main elements that drive a new structure in the production of journalism within the industry. For Tomas – as with other interviewees – the neoliberal regime has changed journalism and journalism education, establishing a new logic of practice but also new notions of educational and media institutions and their senses of existence.

In this case, it is possible to see how in the mass media there is a division of labour marked by access to intellectual information. In this sense, the structure of the mass media industry generates vertical relationships in terms of work but also in terms of access to information. Tomas pointed out the small amount of intellectual labour

within the industry and at universities. There is intellectual labour, but this, according to him, is generated by an elite for itself.

We can see also through Tomas's insights how gender is part of a neoliberal logic, where the role of women is designed to generate a niche for profit. Tomas transitioned from being part of the industry to researching it. This transition has meant that Tomas has developed an exceptional knowledge and level of theorisation about the industry of mass media, while also maintaining a pessimistic outlook. This provides an interesting opportunity to rethink how the production of knowledge can be trapped in its own development.

## **Emmanuel**

Emmanuel is in his early 50s with children from different marriages. He is a journalist, holds a Master of Literature and is a renowned journalist researcher. He has worked for 30 years in mass media and for 13 years as a teacher. Today, he holds a senior position at one of Chile's most prestigious private journalism schools.

The interview was conducted at Emmanuel's office in December 2012. The interview lasted an hour and 15 minutes and was structured in the same way as the other interviews. I arrived on time, however his secretary asked me to wait outside as Emmanuel was speaking on the telephone. After 10 minutes he requested I enter, but remained talking on the phone as I entered. Throughout the interview, he answered the phone on a number of occasions.

The overall impression I gleaned during the interview was that Emmanuel chooses to interact from a position of power. On several occasions, I felt uncomfortable and marginalised. Emmanuel seemed to situate himself as "the expert". At various times during the interview, he pointed out that it was possible that I would not know something, as I was too young, despite our age difference being only 12 years. In addition, throughout the interview Emmanuel tended to reverse roles by attempting to interview me. He avoided discussing his life in detail but did point out his successes and achievements as a professional. As other interviewees, he tended to theorise his responses. The main difference in this case was that he used his own

theory to explain what he was talking about. He did not construct an argument through our conversation; he set his theory as the main point of conversation.

When the subject of gender arose, he said what he thought about gender but at the same time reminded me that he did not fear saying what he thought, since it was a confidential interview.

### **Life trajectory**

The interviewee took an archetypal masculine approach to his life trajectory: he did not talk in-depth about it; in general he avoided personal questions to focus instead on his work and career trajectory.

Emmanuel came from a well-established ruling-class family. His family was able to support him economically throughout his student life. At the time of the coup in 1973, he was 14; he did not perceive this event or the following period of military dictatorship as “a traumatic time” for himself, his family or his friends. He defined his childhood as a healthy and free period of his life. He believed he had received a good education at a selective private school, which allowed him to attain a high mark to enter university.

He started to study engineering in 1977, at an elite Catholic university. He referred to this experience at the engineering school as “a hard time”. Emmanuel spent all of his spare time studying engineering, which did not allow him to have a social life. To Emmanuel, being an engineering student was characterised by a lack of time for social interaction, but also the masculinisation of his social life. Emmanuel said that at that time most of the people he met were men, due to the high proportion of men enrolled in his engineering degree. Of the 400 students only five were women.

After two years he decided to change his degree. At the end of the 1970s he started journalism education. When Emmanuel stated that his experience in journalism education was radically different to that in the engineering degree, he portrayed this experience as much more humanising in terms of the relationships and lifestyle provided by the journalism education degree. In contrast to the engineering degree, the journalism education degree presented an overtly female setting: in his class there were 40 female students and only seven male students.



During the time he studied journalism education, the atmosphere at the university “was tense, due to the impact of the dictatorship”. However, he never had any political involvement. In his course he only recognised two or three classmates as radically left-wing but saw the rest as neutral, including himself.

The privileged access to an elite university allowed Emmanuel to broaden his links to other students who were also privileged in terms of knowledge and interests. He described in the interview how he and his classmates would meet during class breaks and discuss poets and writers such as Paul Verlaine, Arthur Rimbaud or Gabriel Garcia Márquez.

This development of disciplinary knowledge was aided by the interaction with his peers. He is surprisingly critical of students today, given that he was now the manager of a private journalism school. He compared his former situation with what he sees today at the university. He mentioned that the contemporary situation was completely different in terms of achievement and culture, claiming students today demonstrated poorer academic skills and aptitude than in the past. He attributed this to the laziness of students and their lack of writing and reading skills. He believes that his generation was part of an intellectual generation, which had been able to gain access to more culture as well as to improve its economic situation. In these terms, he compared his experience with the experience of his middle-class students, as well as with what working-class students are able to negotiate and achieve.

Some years after finishing university he married a foreign woman and they moved overseas, where he began to develop his professional career.

### **Industrial experience**

Emmanuel had his first encounter with the industry while he was still at university. He had the opportunity to work in a small regional newspaper during the summer. He defined his experience as “the first encounter with journalism”, which allowed him to clarify his vocation but also to realise that he enjoyed being influential. It was this first experience where he realised that journalism could not be understood

in isolation from its audience or the citizen as well as the level of influence that journalism can have on them.

Emmanuel has 30 years of journalistic experience. Most of this time he has worked as a newspaper editor. He started in print newspapers but in the late 2000s he changed to online newspapers. He also has experience as a television news editor and as a member of a private university, where he holds a senior position. Most of the positions he attained have been by invitation, which suggests the importance of networking to obtain higher positions and better conditions such as a highly paid, full-time contract, pension and sick pay.

While he was talking about his industrial experience, he tended to theorise what he thought rather than discuss his own experience. There is a strong sense of justification of the role of the journalist, which according to Emmanuel, is an intermediate role between the elite and the citizen. He portrayed the journalist as a controller of reality:

Journalists are an intermediary [...] journalists are born as a necessary intermediary between elite messages and public opinion. Also, journalists play a more complex role, a controller, i.e. a journalist is not only an intermediary in relation to authority and the people but also is the one who questions that authority.

He explained that his industrial experience was focused on press journalism because he was part of a generation grounded in a writing culture, which was an essential difference to the industrial digital culture today. Journalism has not only been changed by neoliberalism; the technological transformation of the industry has also changed the labour process of journalism and journalism itself. According to Emmanuel: “The culture of written reflection has died under the new digital regime”. To him, this change did not entail an improvement in the quality of journalism. On the contrary, he thinks that these changes have generated a decrease in the quality of the production, especially of news.

I observed that Emmanuel referred to the production of knowledge and news as if it were marked by class awareness. He noted that:

Before the intensification of the neoliberal era, the audience was as refined as the journalist. We used to write for enlightened people. Media now is for everyone. Nowadays there is not an educated audience and the quality of the news is bad.

### **Experience as a Teacher**

Emmanuel has been involved in education since the late 1990s, working in both public and private universities. From his experience, the main difference between public and private universities is the stronger increase in the casualisation of the workforce at private universities. He pointed out that there is a general decline in the condition of teachers. Most teachers lacked health security, pensions or sick leave. He notes that casualisation also disrupted the production of knowledge by journalists and teachers, preventing them from holding proper contracts that included adequate research hours or meeting time. These poor work conditions generate a partial relationship between casual teachers and universities, resulting in lower levels of commitment by teachers.

Emmanuel believes that teachers in journalism schools have an obligation to narrate the tradition of journalism. Telling students about this tradition allows teachers to transmit the values that distinguished journalism from other degrees. For Emmanuel, the significance of teaching is imbued with the values a teacher is able to transmit, but especially those values that, as an authority, he would like to instil.

For Emmanuel, the most important values are ethics and methods. Ethics provided students with the values that drive their actions, while methods drive how students might become intermediaries between the audience and the information. Thus, to Emmanuel, the relevance of knowing the history of journalism generates the possibility of development and transformation of journalism itself.

Emmanuel refers to the tradition of journalism from a masculinised point of view. He stated that 100 per cent dedication to the job is the key to being a successful journalist. He said:

If students knew how Lenka Franulic<sup>30</sup> could win the award of journalism in a world full of men it was basically due to three things: firstly, she spoke English; secondly, she worked 24 hours a day; and thirdly she was successful.

When I asked about the importance of research, Emmanuel again answered from the vantage point of his current position rather than his experience of teaching. He pointed out that his university is interested in retaining teachers who had the time to publish and do research. This interest is underpinned by the desire to achieve prestige and economic awards from the government: “We contract teachers with designated hours to publish and research. We are interested in winning a FONDECYT<sup>31</sup> and being recognised.”

## **Gender**

Emmanuel did not talk much about the narrative of gender in his life. He was reluctant to talk about his home life. The quest to maintain control and keep distance was a constant theme when we talked about gender. He mentioned that he had a wife, with whom he had a child. His first marriage, lasting two years, had been with a foreign woman. He also had a child from this prior marriage.

Emmanuel constructed a version of the importance of social issues based on his own experience. When we discussed gender he explained that multiculturalism was more important than gender because today the world has become multicultural:

Work in multiculturalism is well supported because it involves recognition of the world that we live in. Chile now has a large number of Colombians, Cubans, Ecuadorians, among others. I was married to a Colombian. There is a lot of migration flow around the world. You go and come back. You go to form a family, then you break up and then you leave. This is the world that we are living in.

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<sup>30</sup> Lenka Franulic (1908–1961) is considered the first female journalist in Chile.

<sup>31</sup> Award from the National Commission for Scientific and Technological Research, Chile.

During the interview, Emmanuel approached gender via jokes or through explicit rejection. He only used jokes in relation to gender. Examples include when he talked about his trajectory at the university. He pointed out that when he changed from engineering to journalism: “it was completely different, and to be honest. I felt much better, it was more humanised, and also it was full of women (laughs)”. When he received a call from his wife during the interview he quipped, “sorry I got a gender phone call.”

When I raised the question of gender relations within journalism education, Emmanuel was quick to answer: “I came from an older generation. Gender for me does not exist, frankly.”

Emmanuel is strongly opposed and resistant to gender awareness and education: “I do not tolerate this differentiation of gender. I resist positive discrimination. Also I do not think it is valid that gender determines some conditions”. Most of his answers about gender were constructed from his emotions rather than from his knowledge or empirical evidence. Most of his answers were angry and confused.

As a journalist and writer, Emmanuel understands the theoretical definition of gender. However, he justified that the gender order is male-dominated because *así es la cosa* (that is the way things are). He emphasised his point by criticising the conceptualisation of gender: “man and woman may be learned roles and ways to be that depend on culture, but it is culture and it is what it is. Therefore, I do not have much sensitivity to it, to be frank.”

In his workplace, he does not talk about gender and is opposed to doing so. He is aware that, due to his position of power, the gender regime within the journalism school could be changed if he was interested, but he is not. He established that, in relation to the curriculum, there is no inclusion of gender. Although he recognised that he could have an influence in relation to its integration, he was not considering it. What concerns him is multiculturalism and therefore there was an intentional inclusion of multiculturalism in the curriculum as a unit.

I have mentioned the fact that Emmanuel’s first marriage had been to a foreign woman. This relationship appears significant to his notion of gender but also to his

theory about the importance of multiculturalism. He acknowledged that the journalism school was sensitive to multiculturalism because there are international students in different economic circumstances. He linked this to his memories of living overseas. This is another passage that suggests an egocentric masculinity displayed as an element of resistance.

Following the discussion about multiculturalism, Emmanuel noted that when a student is enrolled in semester nine and has the opportunity to take an elective of journalism and multiculturalism, this was a way to inform the student about how the world works and the type of language he or she needed to learn for the workplace. This is a more cognitive passage about how teaching has an effect on his students in terms of social issues and specifically about multiculturalism.

### **University, curriculum and industrial relations**

Emmanuel argued, from his own experience of teaching, that the journalism curriculum has two aspects: the technical aspect of journalism and the professionalising aspect, such as ethical studies. However, according to Emmanuel, there was a lack of traditional journalistic pathways where journalists could work in mass media reporting, which he said he is trying to restore from his current position at the university. Emmanuel pointed out that, what he was trying to incorporate into the curriculum is part of his personal intellectual pursuit. His statements indicated that the journalism curriculum was built, at least partially, according to the input of specific people in positions of power rather than via a national consensus about what the degree should contain.

He described part of the curriculum as an *accidente* (accident), where units such as strategic communication have been maintained because the market of journalism is saturated, which has led to a high number of students working in strategic communication after completing their degree. The curriculum seemed to be built according to the changes in the demands of the labour market.

In terms of the structure and organisation of the curriculum, decisions are made in a hierarchical way. Emmanuel pointed out that three people collected and then analysed the information available about the journalism education curriculum and

international trends. They then presented this information to permanently employed teachers, and working committees were then formed on this basis. There is a pattern where knowledge appears to be selected based on who authority is rather than any established body of knowledge within journalism.

Emmanuel recognised that, within journalism education at his university, there are no expert pedagogues or experts in higher education or learning. At his journalism school, educational decisions are made by journalists who have been working as permanent teachers for many years, but these teachers are not necessarily pedagogues. However, he pointed out that the fact that there are no professionally trained educators did not make any difference, since the Dean of the Faculty approved, even celebrated, Emmanuel's decisions. Emmanuel considers the workforce at the journalism school to be journalists first and teachers second, pointing out that if you are a journalist you would already know what happens in the field and therefore any journalist would be capable of teaching: "We do not work with educators. We work with journalists, teachers but journalists."

In this sense, for Emmanuel, higher education does not have an essential component of education but rather a vocational component that can only be taught by those who have the experience of being a journalist. This demonstrates an inclination to sideline the educative experience; to intensify the enterprise experience. Journalism practice is what will make you a journalist:

The school of journalism has to be practical. So I am concerned to ensure that, from the first year, students know what journalism is about. They need to know from the beginning what it means to report, what is news, what is a guideline.

Emmanuel spoke openly about his intense involvement in trying to incorporate the syllabus as a guide at his university. This have been the first time his school has officially produced an established unit study outline, at least 20 years since the journalism school's establishment. He hopes to have a tool to reduce the risk of overlapping content, but also to tell teachers what they have to teach and at the same time have more control over what teachers are teaching. He wants to ensure that students "are ready to work in the industry."

He described himself as a liberal, and therefore agreed that universities need to be evaluated, but that the state should not have to interfere in what the university teaches:

I am liberal, super liberal. I do not think that the government or anyone has to define anything (talking about curricular contents). I agree with an evaluation entity, but not one that defines anything.

The relationship with the industry is something that Emmanuel is not concerned about. He thinks his university has a good relationship with the industry, as 100 per cent of the students from his university are able to go on to an internship. He believes they are accepted and welcomed by the industry because the university has trained them with reference to the industry. However, in terms of the current relationship between the school of journalism as an institution producing journalistic research and the industry, he thinks that each entity is part of the same business. The only difference is that the school of journalism has less political commitment, which allows it more freedom to research. This freedom is due to the fact that students fund his university. In contrast, private entities give generous contributions to other universities or mass media institutions, which compromise them politically.

## **Conclusion**

This case shows how personal trajectories contribute to the configuration of gender as a concept but also as practice. Through this case, it is possible to see how class privilege is a key element of personal industrial experience. Emmanuel was able to move from one high position to another because he had been “invited.”

Emmanuel’s case is a classic portrait of power relations and gender. His case demonstrates how an individual in a powerful position can define and influence the curriculum of journalism education and the incorporation, or lack, of a gender perspective within it. In this sense, the position of power is not an illusion. On the contrary, it involves material practices that are used to maintain a gender status quo.

Emmanuel’s approach to gender issues appears to be more an emotional position than an intellectual one. He shows a clear negation and rejection of gender as a



perspective; there is no theorisation or theoretical justification of this rejection. It suggests that a specific moment in an individual's life, or a specific encounter with another person, may contribute to the positions that individual establishes in relation to gender, beyond their own gender identity.

Emmanuel does not connect his gender perspective to his own gender identity. He tends to speak about gender as a caprice of academia and public policy. Thus the incorporation of gender within curricula seems to be a matter of wills, power and ideology.

Neoliberal ideology permeates Emmanuel's rationalisation of social issues. He treats social issues as a technical matter. His neoliberal values are apparent in his notion of journalism, including the focus on development of technical skills as a part of a journalist's work. His definition of himself as a "liberal" is consistent with his action and practices.

As in the other cases, Emmanuel pointed out the difficulties of intellectual labour due to the work conditions within journalism education, which suggests that there is some – albeit limited – development, defined by authorities or by negotiation with other institutions. The production of knowledge seems to be established in relation to negotiations with external institutions rather than from the interests of the discipline.

## **Maria**

This case was chosen because it focuses on the life of a woman who has been a feminist journalist within journalism education and the media industry. This woman, whom I will call Maria, speaks openly about the experience of discrimination she suffered as a feminist within her life trajectory, industrial experience and teaching experience in journalism education in Chile. It reveals the dynamics of gender within journalism education and also the resistances towards feminism and gender knowledge.

Maria is in her early 50s, divorced and has one child. She is a journalist with two Masters degrees, one in gender. Both Masters degrees were completed in the Northern Hemisphere. Maria has worked as a teacher for many years but also has

experience as a journalist in government entities in the area of communication. She currently works as a teacher in two prominent public universities.

I interviewed Maria in December 2012. The interview, in Spanish, was recorded and later transcribed. The interview was set in her office, located in one of the prestigious public universities where she currently works. When I arrived Maria was waiting for me with her door open. My attention was drawn to the different posters of female leaders on her wall.

The first thing she mentioned was her excitement about the interview because it was about gender. Before we started, she defined herself as a political and feminist woman. As with other interviews, such as with Tomas, Maria started by first interviewing me. She asked me about my background and she congratulated me on my interest in exploring gender in journalism education. The experience was more like a pleasant conversation than an interview. She answered questions with no difficulty. Personal and emotional aspects of her life were revealed through the interview. She discussed her industrial and teaching experience and continually linked them back to gender reflections.

The interview showed how Maria generated a significant level of theorisation of gender, politics and education in general, but also how she connected her political and education experience to her personal development. Feminism is something that not only interested her as an academic but which she also sees as an attitude of life. She mentioned during the interview that she experienced discrimination due to having declared herself a feminist.

Maria established a professional relationship with me during the interview but also camaraderie, such that I felt “part of the same team”. On many occasions she used the expression “as you know” and I did indeed understand what she was talking about, beyond the phenomenon that she was attempting to explain. She established a sort of complicity with me by virtue of the fact of my studying gender.

At the end of the interview, Maria added how vital she thought this type of research was, especially in journalism where very little had been done. She suggested a Doctoral Thesis in this subject would help to validate the subject, since it is a kind

of recognition that there is an authority beyond the research that is validating it as knowledge. From a personal standpoint as a researcher, this was one of the few occasions as an interviewer that I felt comfortable discussing and inquiring about gender. When I was translating many of my other interviews, I realised the high level of resistance to the subject but also the level of rebuttal required by me when people explicitly stated their lack of interest in my research subject, such as in Emmanuel's case. This type of resistance and negotiation required that the researcher had to read the silences and understand how the dynamics of gender are present through the people's narratives.

### **Life trajectory**

Maria came from a working-class family. She and her parents used to live in a rural area (far from the capital city). Although she did not talk in detail about her childhood and her family she described her parents as responsible for inculcating her with a belief in the importance of education.

Her primary and secondary education was at a public school. Her experience at the school was significant to her later decision to attend university and study journalism. During her secondary education she met a Spanish teacher who taught her the value of language. Maria described her (female) teacher as one of most significant people in her education and in her intellectual development:

She taught me the value of linguistics. Her love for language and her passion for human rights touched me. She gave me a book of gramática diacrónica (diachronic grammar), as a present, and imagine this for me, a 16-year-old girl. To me it meant an opening of the box of knowledge.

Maria recalled that since she was a child she had wanted to go to university because the political student movement, which emerged during the late 1960s in Chile, had provoked admiration and curiosity in her. She recognised in the university a very different world to the one in which she was living. Therefore, her transition to adulthood was strongly marked by the image of the university.

After finishing secondary school she moved to Santiago to attend university. She started in the middle of the 1970s, when the military regime was in power. She

studied at a public university that was highly politicised at the time. She did two degrees: literature and journalism. This was a difficult political time, when many of her teachers were sent into exile. There was censorship and repression at the university. She referred to the experience as “espantosa” (dreadful, terrible).

I had teachers who agreed with the dictatorship; I knew journalism teachers who did not have any problems in justifying and hiding facts about things the regime had done. There was no freedom of expression. There were issues we could not discuss in class.

In this sense the university as institution was used to preserve and protect the interests of the regime. However, a paradox existed in that, despite the context portrayed by Maria above, she described the experience at the university with her friends, and especially with one teacher, as significant in relation to rigour, discipline, empathy and the need for learning and grappling with ideas.

Her interest in politics increased at the university. During this time, she decided to become an activist and a member of a left-wing party. She refers to this experience as an enriching time that allowed her to open her life to other ideas. Becoming part of a party meant to her not only committing to an ideology, but also approaching a new way of life where knowledge and relationships were part of this experience. As a young student, she had the opportunity to engage in the milieu of the party political collective experience, which allowed her to develop a notion of political solidarity.

In her early 20s Maria experienced a number of events that made it difficult for her to complete her studies. She finished literature but not journalism. At the time she had a partner, and a child was born as a product of this relationship. The relationship did not last and the vicissitudes of life, along with the political milieu the country was submerged in, became impediments to her finishing her journalism degree.

Maria came back to the university in her 30s to finish journalism. She described this achievement as one of the most important in her life. It was to close a stage but also opened another that had been her dream since she was a child: to become a teacher.

Years after finishing the journalism degree she decided to move overseas to do a master's in sexual difference, inspired by her passion for feminism.

### **Industrial experience**

Maria started working in her early 20s, due mainly to the need to support her child. Although she had not completed her journalism degree, she started to work as a journalist in a left-leaning political magazine and after a couple of years changed to another leftist magazine. Her experience in the industry was marked by the awareness of needing to portray herself as a man in order to be validated within the industry. She felt that being a journalist demanded her to recognise the world as a masculinised world, where her voice was diluted in a fake universal person. The voice of a man transformed Maria into someone that she did not recognise:

The fact that I could not write in a feminine style, the fact that I had to maintain a masculine perspective, always made me feel uncomfortable. I did not feel that what I was writing was mine, although I was signing; I did not feel it was me.

Maria's experience suggests a genderisation of institutional dynamics, which in the case of journalism appear to be masculinised. It shows how Maria was alienated within the institutional dynamics of the journalism labour market, which tends to be masculinised.

For Maria, some practices within the industry generated a division of labour that defined the place of men and women journalists. Maria noted that, when she was working at the magazine, on many occasions the editor of the magazine said to her that she could not cover a news story because it was late or because the place was dangerous or too isolated for a woman. To Maria this attitude demonstrates a "falso cuidado" (fake care) from male editors who made decisions through a cultural dynamic of gender rather than on a professional decision, since these situations are dangerous or in isolated locations for both men and women. Maria remarked that, for this reason, women can never demonstrate their full capacity and they are relegated to entertainment or beauty programs.

Maria became part of the journalism union at the beginning of her career. She believes the union plays an important role in terms of being able to generate changes in gender dynamics within the industry but also in terms of journalism practice. However, her experience as a member of the union had been frustrating, due to the lack of power wielded by the union. She explained that the mass media industry has no external regulation, and the union no power to establish standards, for example. Maria indicated that there is an ethical code, which meant that the union could apply a sanction to a journalist, but only if that journalist is a union member, which is not mandatory. Therefore any sanction is a moral sanction, which has almost no repercussions within the industry. Although she recognised that the union is in a very difficult time and has almost no power, Maria still thought that a strong political commitment is important to make changes. She sees unionism as a way of generating conscience around gender dynamics and how journalists as individuals have the opportunity to make some changes in the mass media industry.

### **Experience as a teacher**

As was mentioned earlier, Maria's dream was to be a university teacher. However this was delayed due to the political situation in which Chile was immersed. She, as many people were persecuted by the regime (see Chapter 3): "I had to postpone all of my dreams because, during the dictatorship, you did what you could. Therefore, my dream to become a teacher was hidden in a drawer."

At the beginning of the 1990s, Maria returned to university to study journalism. During this time, two teachers invited her to be a tutor, which assisted her entry into teaching. In the middle of the 1990s, immediately after she finished her degree, she consolidated her career as a teacher. By then, she was in her 30s. She recognised in her academic path a feminist slant, inspired by her secondary school Spanish teacher, along with two other teachers she had had while completing her masters overseas. These teachers helped Maria gain an understanding of the difficulties inherent in conforming to rules of an environment controlled by men. These teachers helped her to join theory, praxis and private life. Like some other interviewees, Maria defined these teachers as significant figures in the development of her political and academic views as a feminist.

Her experience overseas gave her the opportunity to be considered and recognised within academia. However, she defined her teaching path as a difficult one in terms of receiving validation of her work, particularly in relation to the production of knowledge. She has worked for over 15 years in one public university and seven years in other public universities. In her longest job, of 15 years, she has been the only lecturer who has incorporated gender issues into journalism education units. During this time she has taught different units but in all of the units she has incorporated a gender perspective. She reckons that only one director, in 15 years, supported her in the inclusion of this perspective. This director was a woman and also a feminist. After the director left, she again felt isolated.

As a feminist teacher, Maria felt discriminated against. She thinks that there is a poor reception of feminism at university and an equally poor comprehension of it. Maria pointed out that, within academia, even women avoid linking themselves to the feminist movement, as they do not want to be identified as feminists.

To be identified as a feminist meant being identified as combative, boring, concerned with trivial themes, or themes only important to women, and to be anti-men. Yet working conditions in terms of salary and permanent positions favour men. Women at university have less opportunity to do research and hold worse positions.

The university structure, along with the neoliberal politics of casualisation and contract labour marked the relationship between teacher and university. Like many of the other teachers interviewed, Maria's experience as a teacher has been marked by economic and social insecurities. She has not been able to attain a permanent position in over 15 years. The university has not opened a permanent position during this time. She attributed this situation to the fact that public universities do not have enough resources to create full-time positions, but also that there are few positions per degree.

As a teacher, Maria thinks that most of the effort in gender issues within the university are due to voluntarism i.e., there is no policy or deliberate incorporation of gender into the curriculum. She identified this voluntarism as coming only from teachers who had studied gender or who hold a strong political position on it. In this

sense, gender is transformed into an ideology transmitted by those who believe in it. Maria stated that she had been “criticised and devalued as a person and as an academic by her colleagues, especially male”. In relation to educational gender politics, Maria also thinks that there is voluntarism and, even worse, there were gender policies that “have name and surname” attached. In her experience, something is done only if someone is interested in it. Then, if for some reason that person leaves, the gender policy leaves with them.

In terms of intellectual work, Maria links production of knowledge to working conditions but also to discrimination and resistance to feminism. Maria stated that, for her, it has been difficult to investigate and generate more knowledge within her field because since she is not a permanent teacher, she does not have designated hours in which to research. However, another major issue from her point of view is that gender and feminism are not considered knowledge or theory within academia. She sees this when students wish to do their honours degree in gender or feminism, but teachers, male and female, do not encourage them to work on it. On the contrary, teachers question why students wish to explore this issue because, according to Maria, male teachers do not think that gender and feminism are intellectually worthwhile. As she commented, “they think this is a women’s subject.”

What most concerned Maria is that post-graduate and doctoral programs in journalism or communication do not include gender or feminism. These are considered to be minor issues and not worthy academic subjects: “Gender and feminism are not seen in a theoretical perspective”. It appears that there is not so much a lack of knowledge as a lack of legitimacy granted by academia, which would render feminism and gender as theory. This suggests that education could assist to overcome issues but may also perpetuate gender differences and resistance towards it. “Some teachers think that talk about gender is not significant to academia and the development of theory and, if it is significant, it is only with regard to an elite group.”

Currently, Maria is working on a literature project. She is developing a seminar about female poets and novelists but has had trouble implementing it because her colleagues have been opposed to it. They justified their opposition by arguing that



this type of seminar and project would only be addressed to elite women, because “who else would be interested.”

## **Gender**

As mentioned above, Maria became a feminist and a member of a left-wing party when she started university. She has the perception that, at the time in Chile, gender was not an issue: “It did not exist; there was no literature on the subject. No one spoke about it. There was nothing about gender or feminism.”

Maria’s relationship with feminism began as a political motivation. Her first encounter with feminism was via the women’s movement, which was an activist movement related to a left-wing party with no relationship to academia. During this time she began to attend feminist courses run by a feminist movement, which used to invite feminist women from the city, because in Chile there was scant development around the issue. In this way, Maria started to participate in a feminist group linked to political action and feminist reflection. Most of the women who participated in this group were women who had returned from exile and who had joined left-wing parties. It was this new generation of women that, according to Maria, provoked the first debate inside political parties about women and democracy:

They (the women in exile) had the opportunity to study feminism and then I started to have contact with it. This debate started inside the parties and in the women’s movement and the fight against the military regime. We have a slogan ‘democracia en el país y en la casa’ (democracy in the country and in the home).

Maria refers to feminism as a life choice that was influenced by significant female figures from her childhood and youth. For Maria, these women not only gave her academic elements but, most importantly, the essence of life that involved the praxis of feminism: “It is a praxis that is experiential, that is fed by the history of each woman and the common history of each of them”. Thus Maria constructed her own version of the sense of feminism, where her experience and the related experience of women in a common history are combined.

At different times during the interview Maria stressed the enormous negativity towards any concept of feminism, involving mainly rejection and disavowal. This non-acceptance came from everywhere – private, political and academic spheres. She interpreted this rejection firstly as a poor comprehension of feminism and secondly, as the perception that the need for feminism has been overcome. To Maria, the fact that Chile had a female President and to some extent an egalitarian government meant that, for many, there is an assumption that discrimination is over, which has practical and symbolic significance:

The fact that we had a woman president let us believe that we were fantastic, that women can have higher positions and we (women) can be managers or whatever we want. Today, no one will say tell you that you cannot apply for a specific job. They say to you, ‘women can do anything today. Why are you making an issue?’ But it does not mean that discrimination against women has finished. There is strong discrimination; you can feel it, especially in academia. In Chile we have never had a female vice chancellor in at any university. It is incredible!

During this part of the interview, Maria tended to explain the situation in Chile from her perspective. She referred to gender not only as a personal experience but also as related to the idea of a Chilean culture. She believes that Chile has built a cultural idea of “natural patriarchy”. It suggests that there is a pattern of justifying patriarchy through the notion of culture, which has its own dynamics and is independent of the relationships established by people. This conception of culture is based on the notion of what she called “predestinacion cultural” (cultural predestination). As she described:

Here (in Chile) we have problems of discrimination and important problems such as sexual harassment in the university. There is a lot of sex discrimination against students. No one takes responsibility for the bad treatment of female students or chauvinistic jokes. This is normal because people are convinced that the Chilean culture is like this. It is what is normal.

Gender is a marginal discipline in academia. Maria noted that the lack of a gender debate is due to the conviction by some academics that feminism and gender are women's issues. Therefore, it was women who must "work on" these issues. She also noted that women are more "sensitive" to the subject, incorporating some elements into their classes or providing literature to their students. But there is little of this kind of thing. This means that students who are interested in the subject end up adrift, trying to contact Maria, who is identified as "the teacher who works in gender issues."

### **University, curriculum and industrial relations**

From her experience as a teacher, Maria noted that university provides students with knowledge and skills that the industry will never be able to give. These include the skills to analyse and develop the adequate criteria to transmit information with social responsibility. To her, the experience of university is more than an explicit curriculum defining content. Rather, the experience of university should concern the values the university could impart to the student, which would inform his or her future life decisions.

Maria recognises a trend of mercantilisation of education and curricula that is measured by "the employment rates rather than anything else". Maria believes that today the curriculum of journalism education is strongly focused on the industry and its needs. In this sense, she thinks that there is a relationship with the industry but no disciplinary development capable of enriching the industry and the debate from a gender perspective. In terms of research, the situation is no different. Maria agrees that there is a relationship between the industry and academia. Generally this relationship is based on the interests of the industry, pursuing themes or initiatives, which the industry chooses to fund.

Maria thinks that in Chile there is no development in teaching areas of journalism. On the contrary, she believes that the need to marketise journalism education, due to the oversupply of degree programs, provoked universities to employ journalists who are figures on television but had no teaching experience. Maria commented that what universities are doing is "selling faces, as the industry does". This is a marketing strategy that had been transferred from the industry to universities. The

other side is that journalists who were teachers need to top up their salaries. Therefore, they do classes as a “pituto” (informal way to say another job to increase salary).

Before the interview finished Maria said that that all the issues mentioned above are provoked due to the lack of public understanding of journalism and the public view of universities. It is interesting how Maria was able to connect gender and journalism education as a national project. To her, without the connection between journalism education with a national project, Chile will not become a more egalitarian country. She remarked that, although there were some advances, the fact that public policies in Chile lack continuity make it more difficult to move on.

## **Conclusion**

This case shows a strong commitment to feminism and gender that is related to a political project, which permeates most of the areas of the subject’s life including work practices. Maria shows that students’ lives are influenced by teachers. Teachers become a significant other, capable of instilling values and principles into students. Similar evidence emerges in other life stories, such as in Carolina’s.

Maria’s narrative reveals that attitudes toward gender appear to be profoundly political and to be linked to systems of belief, which inform certain political ideas – in Maria’s case, these were left-wing ideas. Student life is relevant to the construction of an ideological position.

In her description of gender and sexual order, Maria made clear the personal and public dimensions of gender. Similarly, she shows how gender implied subjectivity and the construction of a collective history. Maria’s case suggests that resistance towards gender and feminism is fundamentally based on a naturalised notion of a masculinised social order. This naturalisation has permeated the division of labour but also intellectual interest and production.

At a methodological level of analysis, as a researcher, Maria’s interview allowed me to reflect on the resistance that most of the interviewees had to discussing gender or feminism. Maria was one of the three interviewees where there was no resistance to discussing gender. Maria recognised herself as a feminist and the fact

that I was doing research in gender stimulated a specific relational dynamic that allowed me to establish a professional relationship during the interview, as well as an equal relationship in which intellectual competition disappeared. Maria established an implicit alliance. In most of the interviews, intellectualisation was used as a mechanism to protect the interviewee's position as an intellectual. This was not true in Maria's case. Some academic males, such as Emmanuel, established a certain type of competition for intellectual superiority, which also involved a marginalisation of the interviewer, especially by pointing out that gender was a women's issue.

## **Anna**

Anna was chosen as a case study as it allowed an in-depth look at journalism education from an educational point of view. Anna looks at the education apparatus as a whole. Her particular view shows us tensions between the practice of journalism and journalism teaching. Anna's case also provides an exploration of the journalism teaching labour process within higher education, and its relationship to the confirmation of identity inside the profession. The apparent absence of gender is something that spans the entire interview.

Anna was born in Santiago in the late 1970s. She lives with her partner and they have no children. Anna is a journalist with a Masters in Sociology. She has concentrated her career path on being a teacher, but has also ventured into writing novels and screenplays. She published her first story when she was 15 and her first novel in her 20s. Anna has been recognised by the media at different moments as a prominent writer. She currently works at two different universities: one is a public elite university and the other a private middle-class university.

The interview was conducted in January 2013 at Anna's office in a private university. Prior to the interview, she showed great interest in my research. Anna has been researching journalism education for the previous four years, so it was generous of her to participate, as well as discuss and exchange information about her research. When I arrived at her office she was expecting me eagerly. I did not have time to turn on my recorder or ask a question before she started to talk.

Due to Anna's enthusiasm about the subject, there was less time to discuss her private life. However, she did comment on it when I asked. She focused the conversation on her experience as a teacher and the historical differentiation between being a teacher of journalism education and being a journalist. In contrast to the other interviewees, she did not establish herself as an expert. She generally presented herself as a colleague interested in discussing and sharing perspectives.

Theorisation in her narrative did not seem to be one of her strengths. However, her determination to answer from an academic, rather than a journalistic, point of view, was notable, and allowed me to view the practice of journalism from different perspectives.

Other interviews with Anna, published and available on the internet, were used as a source of additional information.

### **Life trajectory**

Anna's family has a history of migration. Her grandfather was from Spain. He and his wife arrived in Chile after the Spanish Civil War, leaving behind all their material goods. Her grand-uncle was a writer who wrote about the Spanish Civil War. Anna claimed that the influences of her grand-uncle and her grandfather marked the development of her interest in writing. She is part of a middle-class family where the masculine figure appears as an important image to her career path. Like all of the female interviewees, such as Carolina and Maria, she recognised that her family life history was significant in the construction of her identity.

Before starting journalism, Anna studied engineering. Even though at the time, she had already defined herself as a writer, she decided to study engineering at university. Her decision was rational, prompted by her good marks during secondary school and the expectations of her family to use her mathematical skills. She got a high mark in the PAA (academic test to enter university), which allowed her to enter one of Chile's elite universities. However, after a couple of years of study she realised her true calling was in journalism. During her time studying engineering, she said that she never felt uncomfortable or strange: "I was like a journalistic caricature, inserted into a world that did not belong to me. I used to go

to the university with a newspaper and I had books under my arms all the time. I am a writer, so it was not my place.”

After her foray into engineering, Anna again took the academic test to enter university and again obtained a high mark. She moved to another elite university where she started her journalism education. Anna described her experience as a student from an academic perspective: “I have to say, that the first part of the curriculum is very old. There were a lot of units related to culture and art, very light. I think I started to enjoy the degree during the second year”. She believes that overall she had good teachers. Anna felt that her education had been based on the idea of imbuing students with generic skills, without a focus on obtaining a specialisation. Anna attended university during the late 1990s, a period when one with a generalist professional qualification was considered well-qualified. Despite this generalist context of education, Anna recognised that her passion for theory and discipline was stimulated by one particular teacher, rather than by the university per se: “I had a German teacher who was very strict and academic. She mentored me. She taught me to be the same as her and she taught me how to do the same with my students.”

I noticed that she referred to her university as an “ordenada” (well organised) institution, where classes were held all the time. Anna highlighted that she sees an educational crisis that affected students and teachers at some public universities, but particularly those at universities that are not part of the elite. She notes that these universities are involved in political mobilisation and protests, joined by both students and teachers. As a consequence, classes at these universities were disrupted for extended periods. Anna’s narrative exposed a critique of the university system in her analysis but it also showed how segregation between universities took place.

Anna started working after finishing university. Her first job was as a scriptwriter for television shows. A male teacher with whom she had done a writing course offered her the job. She worked with him for a couple of years until she became a teacher. As witnessed with the other interviewees, the normal mode to enter the labour market tends to be through informal channels. After four years as a scriptwriter, Anna was invited by the dean of one university to work as a teacher. At the end of 2010 she started her postgraduate studies.

## **Teaching experience**

Anna started teaching in her late 20s. Her working life has been marked by secure conditions, such as access to permanent employment, health care and a pension. However, the cost in terms of time that she has needed to invest is remarkable. She works as a permanent teacher at two universities, distributing her workload of around 20 hours at each university. One of the universities is a small, popular Catholic private university, where she focuses on teaching and research. Her other job is at an elite university, where she holds a position as an assistant teacher. Although her work is very demanding and requires a lot of work, she does it because she sees no alternative in order to maintain her economic status.

Anna starts her day around 7 am and, depending on the day of the week, attends one or the other of the universities. She explained that her work differs, depending on the university. At one university she has to divide her time between teaching, research and administrative responsibilities. At the other university, she does teaching only. Each class involves giving a lecture, preparation, tutorials and marking.

Anna has learned to divide her time between the two universities, having to deal with the different dynamics and cultures at each institution. During her teaching experience she has had the opportunity to teach at other private universities, but she realised how difficult it is to work in different places, not only in terms of time, but also in terms of differences between students and university cultures. The main differences that Anna noted between universities was in terms of class, academic standards, attitude of the students toward journalism education and institutional attitudes toward education:

I have always done classes here and at the other university. A couple of times I did classes at two other private universities [...] and I never did it again. I know that between the universities where I work there are students from different socio-economic realities. However, at the universities that I currently work at, even though you have students with social difficulties at one, not at the other, all students want to become journalists. But at the other universities, students have the attitude, 'OK,



give me my degree now. I want to go home'. And some universities have the attitude of selling the degree. They say, 'you will get the degree in four years and in five you will get a Masters and in seven a PhD and then you can do what you want', and it is not real. So I think this is a serious matter.

This statement reflects how some teachers feel on this issue. In the case of both Anna and Carolina, they believe that some universities have a market approach to education.

Anna mentioned that between the universities where she works the main differences are in terms of content and the opportunities each university provided according to each curriculum. In her private university, the main focus is on journalism as a practice. But the public elite university is more open i.e. it does not focus on traditional journalism: "There are students who are going to become visual artists, or publicists or journalists."

Anna's career trajectory has been marked by an almost exclusive development in teaching. She has not worked as a journalist in media; she declared that her education and development as a journalist has been within academia: "to me the industry of mass media is something that I visited once, but my formación (training) is academic". During this time one of the main things she has noticed is that people do not want to stay in academia in journalism education. She explained that poor employment conditions and the devaluation of teaching within journalism practice seemed to be contributing reasons for these estrangements from academia.

As an academic, Anna feels that she needs to constantly validate herself within the journalism world. She reflected on the fact that she is not an active journalist in terms of "reporting". She thinks that there is a conflict of views, where the notion of journalism practice was called into question:

If I am formando (training) students, it is practice. As a teacher I want the students to do something other than only learning to write well or detecting news. I want them to generate critical thinking and I want them to have discussions between themselves. This is the difference that

I have noted. When you are in academia, you are supposedly far from industry. This distance allegedly generates a break with the real world. I do not think this is true. I try to be connected and I am connected because I want to really teach my students. I do not want them to think that someone is telling stories.

Anna highlights here the lack of agreement as to what education is and the ideological and theoretical conflict that is established within the profession. To Anna, the meaning of journalism practice has been transformed into a conflict within the profession between journalism and journalism academics, as well as between teachers. The explanation she had is that there is a tension between what she called “the professional model and the academic/theory model” where the notion of education is absent:

We are hyper-professionalising. We are more worried that people write news well, than write a research paper. This vision of the university has a repercussion within the industry. In some universities students do not have methodology. They will never know how to research, and of course, it happens that you cannot see journalism as a science where you can study and generate knowledge. You will finish university thinking that you were in a professional institute.

Even though Anna’s analysis is less political than other interviewees’, such as John’s, she refers to political and ideological elements that appear to determine practice.

Anna’s workday is normally 8:30 am to 7 pm. When under pressure, the hours increased. All the units that she teaches are theoretical units. Her passion for teaching is driven by the opportunity teachers have to generate discussion from theory. She described this process as: “I show theories and authors to students to let them be rebels and critics. The important thing is to make students question the theory.”

As a teacher, Anna focuses her practice on traditional education. Although she likes technology, she thinks that it does not allow students to think in depth; “in my first

class, I said to students, I do not want to see phones, iPods or computers. I need you here with me". She prioritises contact between herself and the students, to try to make them adapt to a new way of thinking that requires the development of reflective skills. Among other units, Anna teaches journalism ethics which, according to her, cannot be taught from practice. On the contrary, it should be taught in a way that challenges students:

How do I do it? I apply certain methodologies that to me are related to research. I use a lot of case studies. An example was the issue of the San Miguel jail where I ask my students to reconstruct the facts. But it is what I do.

Her final statement is a useful reminder that teaching seems to be personal in terms of method but also in terms of approach. As we have seen with other interviewees, many teachers lack pedagogical training or fail to use pedagogical techniques.

In terms of intellectual production, Anna is critical of the journalism education situation. She notes that there is not enough preparation or interest in providing students with research tools, "I am sure that when students finish the degree, they do not have any idea what a variable is."

In this sense, Anna not only feels that there is an absence of units related to research within journalism education but she also recognises that there is an institutional structure that does not foster the development of research. It fell to the interest of the authorities as to whether or not to generate conditions to research and produce knowledge. Anna gives a quick overview of her reality:

It (research) is something that I have been fighting for a lot, but I have lost the battle. They (authorities) tell me that they want another emphasis. For example, in the area of research there is my assistant and myself. There is research done by other teachers but they do not go for evidence, they are more reflexive; more historical, different. Once I have to do my academic workload to determine how long it takes me to write a paper because it appears to them that it does not take me long. But I have to explain that to write a paper includes, researching it

beforehand, doing a literature review and then applying a methodology and all the rest, it does not take a week. And they (authorities) say, 'OK, so, how long? Ten days?' There are different views.

Despite these difficulties and resistance, Anna recognised that the ranking system is “driven by a neoliberal notion of education that has helped like an arma de lucha (gunfight)” to keep the production of knowledge going in her university. According to her, “at the end, the ranking is based on research; how many research projects have been done. Everything else does not matter”. Although Anna did not analyse the potential failures of the system in more depth, from her perspective, this is the only way that they have to keep research alive: “it is difficult, it is a waste of energy. I like to research but also, you realise that it is a boat that you are rowing yourself.”

Anna did not mention anything about the gender regime established within the university.

### **Industrial experience**

Anna did not discuss her industrial experience, as she has not worked as a journalist. Her opinions about the industry are based on her experience of researching the field and from journalist friends. Her view is very critical. She thinks that the main problem faced by journalists is the lack of freedom to write: “if you are a journalist you have the opportunity to work freelance, i.e. keep your freedom or else, work for a media company, but you are under their rules and editorial guidelines”. Ironically, to Anna, freedom has a high cost in terms of work stability and social conditions.

In this context, what also mattered to Anna is conservatism, the narrow agenda of the media and the treatment of different issues, such as poverty:

I think there is a lack of opening of themes because some themes have a certain complexity that cannot be covered by specific formats such as reality shows, and also there is no interest. I think media should stop saying that there is interest in subjects such as poverty because the truth is that no one is interested.

Anna's conception of journalism is based on the perception of an economic system that has instrumentalised the profession to its own convenience.

## **Gender**

Like other interviewees, such as John, Anna never referred to gender from her own experience. We do not learn much about Anna's home life. She has no children and works intensively. Her husband also works and they seem to have a good relationship. She refers to him as a supportive person, especially in relation to her career. Since Anna and I are of a similar age, the question of age and children is raised in a personal context at a point during the interview. Talking about children, she commented that she was not sure if she wanted children, but if she did have them she would do it later. Although she and I were conscious of "the ticking clock", she reflected that she loved what she did and that the compatibility of motherhood with work was always an issue. Anna did not elaborate on these comments, but it was explicit that the industrial conditions (loss of the contract, half pay, etc.) and the fear of losing influence were aspects that influenced the question of motherhood.

From her position as a teacher, Anna acknowledged that she does not know much about what is happening in terms of gender at other universities and in other curricula. In her experience as a researcher she has only found intellectual production about gender in journalism education at two universities in Chile:

I have not found much about gender studies. I know that at the University of Chile there is some but I would not dare to say more. I could say at USACH (University of Santiago, Chile), but I think that they work more from philosophy and literature rather than journalism.

I noticed that Anna, as well as Carolina, John and Maria, agreed that part of the lack of interest in gender within journalism education is due to prejudice around gender issues and its study.

In Anna's words:

I think that there is a prejudice related to gender. People say, 'what a bore gender issues are! Not gender studies again! – as if there were a lot! In fact, I knew about gender studies from foreign articles, and it was only then that I realised that it was an important theme.

Despite her sympathy for gender issues, Anna did not appear aware of how to integrate gender within the discipline: "I do not know, maybe it has to be dressed up, not say that they are gender studies; maybe call them descriptive analyses of another issue."

Anna did not offer an opinion about feminism. Clearly she has some interest in feminism and gender, although she does not have a gender approach in her academic work.

In another dimension of the social spectrum, even though Anna is a "gender radical", she made only moderate criticism of the industry approach to gender:

This is an issue that nobody cares about [...] I think that important issues are treated in isolation and in few media. Also, they do not know how to treat it [...]. I do not think that they are doing any favour to the community, on the contrary. But of course, someone from the media could say to me that I do not have anything to say because I do not work in mass media, even though I studied it.

Anna is critical of the lack of training in gender. She thinks that this absence of training provoked discrimination and more stereotypes. She explained that there is a generalised resistance by the industry to a gendered approach – though a lot of the content that the industry generates is gendered.

Like many of the interviewees, Anna highlighted the high level of sensationalism behind any gender issue treated by the media, "gender is not part of the media if it is not something sensational, such as femicidio (femicide)". She attributed this to the great level of profit that the industry can reap from it, – and which is confirmed by the industry:

The industry generates its policy on the ranking [...] they are never really worried about the wellbeing of women [...] I had a conversation with an executive of a TV station, where I tried to express my concern about gender and he told me that was not something that the media thought about. And this was because they were worried about reality programs, they are worried about profitability.

### **University curriculum and industrial relations**

Anna argued that the curriculum of journalism education varies from one university to another, but in general it is possible to find two trends. One is where universities are concerned about technology and the incorporation of it within the curriculum, “technology is a kind of obsession with journalism schools and the education faculties” Secondly, there is the focus on strategic communication and publicity. To Anna, neither of these two trends are journalism. On the contrary, these trends are pushing journalism to other disciplines: “there are universities that are teaching strategic communication. They are training people to go to work in a corporate communication department or lobby group. To me, this is not journalism.”

She is convinced that behind this insistence by universities to combine journalism with other disciplines is the need to keep the journalism market open, and the only way to do this was to diversify the offer of education.

As can be seen above, Anna is critical about the education system. She insisted that there is a huge crisis involving tertiary education in general, but especially journalism education: “The proliferation of private universities without control, with no limit [...] it is immoral”. Anna, as Carolina, argued that many students feel “estafados” (betrayed; ripped off). She attributes this sensation firstly to an offer that is uncontrollable and the idea that going to university would give you a better life:

I think that in Chile the silly idea has been installed that you have to go to university to be someone. It generates an enormous problem because all the time there is a new university or new degrees, with no new teachers, so we finish with journalism schools, where students are there

as if they were stranded; killing time, thinking they will get a profession that will make them happier, thinking that economically it will help, but the reality is they often do not like it or they are not good at it. So the system is extremely perverse. Because universities that defraud coexist with others that operate well.

When I asked Anna about the relationship between the mass media and universities, she pointed out that the relationship is “dañada” (damaged). Anna described this relationship from the perspective of the labour relationship that had been established between academia and the media industry. She explained that, on the one hand, journalists working in mass media believe that the journalists working in academia want to sabotage the media through strong criticism. On the other hand, from academia itself, there is the belief that being a teacher is not enough to understand the practice of journalism. Anna remarked that this situation is explicit within academia:

At the university where we have a lot of teachers who come from industry, we have a dialogue but the relationship is tense [...] they think that having a desk is not journalism, just as being a teacher is in no way related to journalism.

From this perspective the construction of identity within journalism plays a key part in these fractures.

## **Conclusion**

Anna’s case provides an opportunity to explore teaching and intellectual work within journalism education. The case also shows different concerns within a younger generation. Like most of the interviewees, Anna noted differences between universities in relation to class issues. She pointed out that, in her experience as a teacher, she perceived segregation related to the structure of education and between universities.

There is a trade-off between secure conditions at work and the loss of personal time. There is a normalisation and at the same time a resignation to the way that the academic labour market has been set. Although Anna knew that the focus of the



interview was on gender and journalism education, she did not reflect explicitly on the structure of gender relations within journalism education and the system in general, or how gender relations are shaped in relation to the labour market or transformed under this type of labour market. However, the fact that the question of children arose, reflects how the compatibility of motherhood and work is an issue in terms of industrial conditions, as well as in terms of maintaining power and influence. Although Anna shows sympathy towards gender issues, it is clearly not within her academic or research interest to explore the issue. Her main concerns revolved around intellectual work and the tension between practice and production of knowledge.

Anna helps us to understand how the construction of trajectories is itself a construction of identity. Her experience as a teacher and her decision to construct trajectory within academia has created an identity that appears to be one in contrast to that of a journalist, who has constructed their career path within the industry. These differences may also be extrapolated from the tension between the practice of journalism, or the construction of the discipline that we have seen in other interviews

Some details of the labour process for Anna are distinctive in terms of intellectual labour. For her, intellectual labour is defined by the market but also by the institutional culture where the intellectual labour is produced. It appears that, even though market agendas have penetrated the intellectual labour process, ironically the market that has kept the production of knowledge within private universities. The need to be part of a ranking process obligates universities to generate knowledge, despite not being interested in such knowledge generation.

In all of the interviews and especially in Anna's, the idea of an intellectual community within journalism education did not arise. It seems that the production of knowledge is seen as an individual process related to individual research projects.

In terms of gender, the criticism of the journalism industry instrumentalising gender issues as part of its market strategy to capture an audience reappears. Anna also reveals how the production of gender knowledge is poor within academia and how

the influence of the global metropole has been key in terms of circulation of gender knowledge. Anna did not talk about her private life and the way that she sees gender relations. This can be related to the idea of evaluation. Most of the interviewees avoided talking about things they did not know about in depth. This “absence” also indicates the status of gender issues within journalism education and how the dynamics of gender are constructed.

## **PART III: ANALYSIS**

### **Chapter 6: Gender Knowledge Production in Journalism Education**

#### **Introduction**

Part III analyses journalism education and the production of gender knowledge within education and the social structure. The Chapters in this part draw on analysis of all the life histories, units of study and data collected from newspapers and archives.

#### **The beginning of changes, trajectories of life and the development of journalism education**

Most of the respondents grew up and developed their careers during the Chilean dictatorship. This appears to be a critical event in the lives of all respondents but also in their intellectual labour processes and therefore in the development of the journalism discipline and in the new model of higher education. More than half of the respondents had a career trajectory linked to experiences of horror, censorship and trauma, while trying to be or become journalists in a context of social, political and intellectual repression. Some of the interviewees who started university during the dictatorship describe this time as very difficult, especially due to the segregation that the regime imposed. Manuel described the cultural context:

The university was a place where the military regime had intervened. There was a very marked trend of linkages to Opus Dei and the Navarra School. [...] It was another time. There was a lack of freedom to discuss [many things]. There was a lot of repression.

Sonia:

During this time [the dictatorship intervened] in the journalism school where I studied, emptied [...]. It became a detention and torture centre.

As pointed out in Chapter 3, during the dictatorship a new political and economic model was established, which drove the agendas of journalism and the production of knowledge, and especially shaped a new way to understand education. This context is

very peculiar to the development of journalism education in Latin America because the changes in education were political and economic as well as cultural.

One of the main changes in higher education has been the proliferation of universities (see Chapter 2), which has produced an overcrowding in the tertiary education sector. For many respondents, journalists and teachers, this overcrowding has contributed to competition among education providers to attract students and a diversification of the journalism education curricula.

Juan:

At the beginning of the 1980s there were five or six degrees and around 200 students in Chile [...] between 1986 and 1990 we had around 64 journalism degrees. Now, I think we have 40 [...] now there is a much more competitive situation [...].

Hugo:

Now, from a lecture cohort of 80 people, eight will work as journalists because there are no jobs. The rest will work in strategic communication or something similar. So universities know that; it is why some universities have Strategic Communication within their units and as a specialisation elective.

The curriculum investigation in this project (Chapter 3) shows that, while there are common units between universities, such as writing and television, there is no uniform curriculum across universities. This finding is very similar the findings of a 2007 report by The Ministry of Education. However, it may also be added that diversification of study units suggests that universities have created their curriculum based strongly (but not exclusively) on market criteria in order to compete and survive within the education market.

According to most of the teachers interviewed, the changes in curricula are influenced by a consolidation of the neoliberal system. Carolina argued that universities have adapted their journalism education curricula to the market, causing a structural problem related to the loss of the values of journalism as a public function. She

pointed out that current journalism education programs employ media relations officers and public relations agents rather than journalists. Carolina said that the labour market has become saturated, forcing universities to find alternative employment prospects for journalism education graduates unable to find work. For her, teaching Strategic Communication – a unit that has been integrated within journalism education – is essentially a strategy by the university to adapt to the conditions of the labour market. Although she thinks this phenomenon is unfortunate, she also believes that trying to stop it would be worse: “To think differently would be to live in an ideal world where universities should not profit and where the mass media should have news departments”. Javiera, a teacher in a private university, also pointed out: “approximately 40 per cent of our students end up working in companies or communication agencies, in work related to Public Relations or Strategic Communication”.

This heterogeneity of journalism education programs in academia reflects the incorporation of new units of study such as Public Relations, Strategic Communication, Marketing, or Entrepreneurs as a way to differentiate educational products. Such heterogeneity also implies a new culture manifested in the organisation and structure of journalism education as a degree (which includes teaching practice, support of research, type of research, relationships with the industry and relationships with other universities).

Arguably the work-oriented inclusions have benefits in terms of providing better work prospects for students and a better understanding of the labour market and the industry. This instrumentalisation of the curriculum has the practical purpose of increasing employability. Work-oriented curricula also have a cultural effect in that they promote universities as an extension of the market. Universities risk losing their autonomy in organising knowledge, particularly in creating knowledge that promotes social transformation. The attempt to emulate the skills of the media industry has, further, resulted in absorption of the social dynamics of the industry, including its gender regime (see Chapter 6).

An example of this is the incorporation by universities of market rules into their curricula. Both public and private universities have shifted to more marketised education curricula, although the marketisation is more pronounced in private

universities. Private and public universities are now more focused on developing knowledge based on the market rather than on the development of the discipline. This implies leaving out a more humanistic educational offering, including social issues such as gender.

Elena:

It is impossible that public relations could be seen as journalism [...] but the market has forced the journalism school to struggle to survive. This is a legacy from the 1980s [...] the journalism schools are responsible for what happened. We have two different careers but no one is honest about it. If you ask the universities how many of their teachers studied Strategic Communication – no one. How many have worked in it: – no one [...] but the worst part is that all the universities will say that they are educating you in it because today the market offers a window of opportunity. Not because they want to provide a career, no, because if they do not, their students are not going to get work.

Paolo also claimed that, although his journalism school education still have a strong influence from the radical left wing: “the ideology of the market has embedded itself within the curricula, teaching practice, production of knowledge and the conditions of labour within higher education.”

### **Changes in curriculum as a manifestation of the ideology of the market**

The absorption of neoliberal ideology and a structure that supports it can be observed in curricular terms. Paula recognised that the curriculum and journalism are political: “the neoliberal ideology is not only manifested in the economic system but as a political ideology that can be seen through the curriculum and the production and circulation of knowledge.”

An analysis of the curricula of the four universities from 1982 to 2012 indicates that, in general, private and public universities have configured the curriculum of journalism education in a hierarchical structure. The first and longer period of the curriculum includes a wide number of units related to the category of ‘General Knowledge’ (theoretical studies), ‘Professional Practice’ and ‘Elements of

Professional Practice'. The second and shorter period of the curriculum focuses on specialised knowledge, which varies from one university to another.

The ownership structure of the universities affects the plasticity and the structure of the curricula. The two private universities analysed have built their undergraduate curricula to allow additional work to convert to a master's degree, in this way deepening the notion not only of an education focused on the market but also an educational market. In the four university cases observed, only the private universities offered a master's degree as a possible degree after the journalism education program. No public university provided it. This decision seems to be based on market strategy rather than academic reasons.

Eduardo illustrated:

Journalism education has adjusted to the market. The curriculum has adapted to the market [...] what happens is that when universities are private, they create new strategies to survive but also they do not allow shrinking enrolments because it means less money.

Within the course structure of the public and private universities, it is common to find curriculum units given generic, rather than disciplinary, names. Disciplines such as Methodology and Sociology are renamed. An example of this is the unit called Communication Theory at the University of Santiago. The description of this unit is "Discourse analysis and content analysis as it applies to journalism". Another example is the curriculum of Andrés Bello University, where at least three units have the same lead name: Cultural Foundations of Communication (I, II, III). When looking at the description of each unit in the study program, it is evident that each unit corresponds to a different discipline: Economics, Politics and Scientific Studies. These renamed units suggest a marketing strategy to transform the curriculum into an attractive product and while also making it easier to contract generalist teaching staff rather than specialised ones. This effect could be called curriculum marketisation, involving not only new names but also a new organisation of knowledge focused on the commercialisation of journalism education within the education market. This can be seen in the changes in the curricula of each university from the 1980s to 2000s, where cognitive units lost disciplinary value, changing to underpin the practice (see

Chapter 3). In the Chilean case, the phenomenon is very particular because it shows, in an extreme measure, how journalism education is a market.

Within the compulsory units (as delivered in 2012), the four universities are focused on two areas of knowledge as categorised in Chapter 1. Professional Practice and Theoretical Context are the areas that involve vocational and practical/technical knowledge as well as involving systematic teaching of elements of journalism such as Television, Radio, Writing, Editing, Photography, Journalism Research, Digital Content, Law, and Ethics. The area with less relevance is the area of ‘Cognate Discipline’, which includes more theoretical units, despite this is still no less focused on the market. In-depth analysis of the area of ‘Cognate Disciplines’ indicates that 58 per cent of the compulsory units are in the category related to ‘Communication’ and ‘Other Disciplines rather’ than the category of ‘Foundation of Knowledge’. The priority foundation category includes units such as philosophy and sociology. Only one public university delivered Philosophy as a unit and it lasted only for one semester. In short, strongly disciplinary knowledge is de-emphasised in the market model. Although there are a vast variety of units delivered by the different programs, most of the universities promoted a vocationally oriented curriculum. The Chilean curricula lack flexibility and last much longer than in other countries, such as Australia. What is offered by Chilean journalism programs is less diverse than the Australian case described by Adams and Duffield (2005).

Although both public and private universities have aimed to produce generalist journalists, who have the ability to work to produce economic value based on vocational knowledge, private universities have placed special emphasis on their curricula, teaching practices and dynamics of knowledge production rather than on intellectual knowledge. This situates journalism as a technical occupation lacking both a body of shared knowledge and autonomy in its knowledge production in relation to the industry. This model has been fortified by state educational policies, which follow a human capital model. According to Paolo, this is driving intellectual journalism labour to private purposes.

It is possible to identify different degrees of commitment to disciplinary knowledge, especially between public and private universities. Andrés Bello University is one of the four that shows the least development of disciplinary knowledge. The University



of Santiago shows the greatest commitment to disciplinary knowledge.

Javiera noted:

I arrived at the beginning of 2000. When I arrived the curriculum was in place, but it changed because it was very theoretical. It had very little content in Journalism Practice or Communication, I mean Strategic Communication. So it was changed to reinforce both areas [...] The main changes, I would say, was that when I started working at the university, the journalism school was much more focused on criticising the media. It was more related to the critical school. There was a critical way to look at the media. It was part of the role the Communication area used to have within the school [...] but when the boom in Strategic Communication started within the area of Communication, it changed a lot, because it was totally functional. It is part of the social system; of the neoliberal system.

Some casual teachers from private and public universities, such as John, agree with a liberal system. They justify the need for a vocational curriculum as a way to link practice to theory. However they do not question the dynamics in terms of production of knowledge within a vocational curricula, or how knowledge is pushed away from a social debate that goes beyond industry interests and answers to the needs of the citizen. Most casual teachers seem to feel a lack of connection between practice and theory, tending not to see education as a mechanism of transformation. The work conditions that teachers experience in terms of practice (few hours a week, lack of involvement in pedagogical decisions, lack of inclusion onto research teams) prevents them from being involved in the education process of production of knowledge, excluding them from understanding education as a process of transformation.

As Anna pointed out:

In the case of this university, we have a lot of teachers from the media industry, but the relationship is very tense. I think that they think that, because a full-time teacher is not practising as a journalist, we do not contribute to journalism and we are not able to make the connections.

This phenomenon could also be seen in other fields of knowledge, as Wheelahan (2010) shows in the case of education.

### **Beyond the market: The Elite**

The journalism education curriculum shows an intensified stratification of the production, generation and circulation of intellectual labour. This stratification is strongly defined by the type of university delivering the journalism education. Public universities are at the vanguard of intellectual production, focusing on the development of the discipline and aspects relating to public affairs. They lead the development of knowledge, focusing on more professional and disciplinary aspects of education. In these universities, students have more opportunity to be part of a knowledge culture related to citizenship and democracy. They are potentially being prepared to be part of an elite of journalists, their education dealing not only with technical and immediate issues of practice but also with more intellectual, global and political issues. In this sense, to become part of an elite of journalists through the education experience is not determined exclusively by class privilege, but also by the privilege of access to certain subjectivities, knowledge and dispositions given by academic and cultural practices.

Carolina, a young full-time teacher with a working-class background, is an example. She became aware of social, ideological and class differences between herself and her classmates in her first year of university. She described the distance between her own school education and that of her university classmates as “enormous”, given her working-class background. This difference contained her sense of a lack of knowledge, but also included differences in cultural experiences, such as becoming aware of others’ experiences of having travelled, learning other languages, living in the capital and or attending a better school. Most of the students at her university come from an elite cultural and economic background. She felt excluded for a long time from some of the discussions about society and social issues, because she did not have the intellectual tools and knowledge to participate. She refers to her first year at university as “traumatic”. In this sense, the social relations that dominate elite universities may be seen to preserve the cultural practices of the ruling class.

Private universities may be part of the elite to a greater or lesser degree. Most of the casual and full-time teachers from private universities acknowledged the difference in

the type of education provided. Teachers recognised that they are not teaching for an intellectual elite. The fact that many private universities do not have a selection process provokes inevitable segmentation of knowledge. Carolina, who works in a private university, puts the situation succinctly: “students learn what they can and at the end they will finish learning at their workplace rather than at the university.”

John also pointed out:

I think that there is still a lack of preparedness with five years of study. [...] I think that, at least for journalism education, things are wrong. I say that because I am a journalist and I like what I do, but in comparison to other degrees, the level is super low, at least in private universities.

John and Carolina have seen situations that make them feel disappointed and ashamed of how journalism has been established as a degree, and how educational institutions have stratified degrees, not only in terms of professional status but also in terms of academic requirements. John: “When I compare the final examination of the journalism education degree to other degrees such as law and medicine, I have to say that I feel embarrassed.”

As in many of the interviews for this study, the problem of the quality of education was explained by John as a matter of the market: “Education is a business in which students do not always get what they pay for”. He questioned the market, as many casual and full-time teachers from private universities did, only in terms of dynamics or regulation, because most of them agreed with a liberal system. Education as a business was not seen as a problem, if students got what they paid for.

In Carolina’s words:

Although I was doing my best, I felt as if I was *traficando* (dealing) with my students because I was unable to give them the quality of education that they deserved. I was the subcontractor doing the dirty job.

## **The paradox of the ideology of the market**

In general, course structures tend to be rigid. Students have only a few possibilities to explore the fields of knowledge, which the mass media industry actually develops as content. There is a paradox here. While the focus of education is supposedly market-driven, training students to meet the needs of the industry, the curricula appear to ignore content that the mass media industry is actually producing. Gender is a prominent example of this paradox. None of the curricula analysed presented a unit that explicitly contained gender as content or gender as a perspective. The reference to gender appeared as an isolated initiative of teachers interested in the subject or as an agreement between specific Chilean universities and international NGOs (see Chapter 3). No university covered the subject of gender in the production of news, or dealt with gendered newsroom cultures.

The lack of gender focus in journalism education in Chile should be viewed in the context of the current Chilean media. In a typical edition from 24 September 2012 of *Las Ultimas Noticias* – one of the highest-circulation newspapers in Chile – there were four whole separate pages (not including advertising) devoted to gender or sexuality as content. In addition, two of the most important newspapers in Chile – in terms of sales volume – have specific magazines aimed at women or men. Gender is plainly part of the media's marketing strategy.

Sports journalism is another example of the mismatch between what is taught at universities and actual media content. Sport is one of the most important covered subjects of news in any media in Chile. In another edition of *Las Ultimas Noticias*, March 2012, 13 of its 55 pages were related to sport and all of them were gender-segregated. It is notable that only one university offered Sports Journalism as a compulsory unit.

Ella:

To fight against sexism from the university is very difficult. One of the most successful magazines with most impact, the most read is *The Clinic*, which is not only sexist but also homophobic. Or *Las Ultimas Noticias*, where many of our students are working [...] but the sexism is central.

Women showing their bum, the use of women as sex objects is there, is present every day. So to fight against that is difficult, but we know that.

### **Intellectual identities**

There are two main tensions that have institutionalised different intellectual identities within the journalism profession. According to the interviewees, these tensions started during the 1990s and were reinforced during the 2000s. The social practice used to produce knowledge has changed and with it, labour identity.

One observable tension is between the conception of journalists as political militants – in Chile political activists are usually linked to a political party – and journalists as professionals linked to the development of journalism practice. Within the Chilean context this tension occurs between the new generation and the old generation of journalists. Respondents from the older generation see journalism education and journalism itself as a personal and political project where their political ideology, knowledge production and career development combine.

Paula noted:

Most of us have dedicated almost all of our professional lives to work in themes related to communication to develop freedom of expression [...]. For us, it was a part of a social movement. We fought for freedom of expression and a democratic country [...] after the dictatorship it was not a fight against it, but rather to integrate with a democratic regime and grow as a professional adult in a democratic moment [...] your profession is part of your project of life and your political project, and it is still this way.

In contrast, the new generation of journalism teachers see knowledge production as a part of professional practice. The emphasis is on applied dimensions of knowledge that allow the development of a career independent of a personal political project.

Paolo, pointed out:

Our role, the academic role, is to propose to the industry. We need to generate a new knowledge, and this knowledge has to be useful [...] Left-

wing academia has fallen into a recurrent discourse based on a conspiracy theory where academics see evil everywhere and forget to give tools to students to develop their own ideas and gain a social notion of professional journalism [...] Academia has not been able to distinguish the critique of the concentration of the media, the relationship between ideology and media, without denying a professional trajectory to the student.

This tension could reflect different life trajectories, especially the different political, social and economic context that each generation has experienced. A younger generation of teachers developed their careers after the re-establishment of democracy, when proliferation of the universities was at a maximum and when, ironically, the neoliberal model was consolidated. The consequence is a generational crisis, especially within public universities, based on ideological positions and notions of education.

The other tension is related to the conceptions of journalism and the role of the journalist. The debate is concentrated in defining the role of a journalist as either an intellectual journalist versus a communicator journalist, with more general skills.

Rebecca pointed out:

After the military regime there was not a repositioning about what it means to be a journalist, their intellectual labour [...]. Today a journalist can be dedicated to what he or she wants. That is a problem [...] Maybe being a public relations officer and being called a journalist [...] here is a political and economic position that takes advantage of this to make it work for everybody. This is Machiavellian. It cannot be possible that we call everything journalism. So what happened [...] after students finish their degree, they go with their bolsa (bag) full of competencies and, depending on the job, they will take the most useful one [...] this is what happens today, students have to do a unit of this, one and a half of the other, and two of another. It is useless, this does not work. So a student has tools to keep him or herself alive. They could also be a taxi driver. Everyone avoids talking about it.

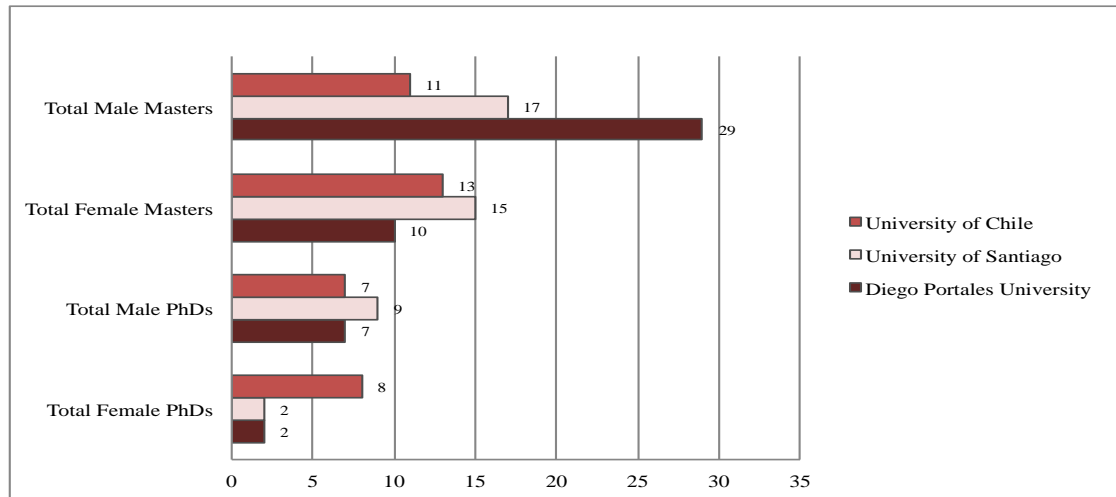
As Mellado (2008) argued, there is no theoretical agreement about the professional profile that journalists should receive.

## **Gender and curriculum**

### **Gender distribution in journalism education**

As described in Chapters 3 and 4, there is a prevalence of female students within journalism education. According to the interviewees, this prevalence of women first became apparent in the late 1960s and remains today. Respondents from the older generation of teachers and journalists, such as Peter, recognised a feminisation of enrolment.

This perception among teachers is confirmed by the figures shown in Chapter 4. From 2006 until 2011, women had the largest share of matriculation at all universities. In public and private universities, the proportion of women was higher than men, although the number of female student enrolments in private schools far exceeded the number of students in public universities. The numerical dominance of female students remained in all years, until the end of the degree. In all the universities in the case studies, more females completed the degree. There is a common belief that an increasing number of women will create change. Yet quantity alone does not necessarily mean change in culture and gender dynamics. Regardless of ownership, universities have a highly segregated labour structure. Male dominance of teaching jobs has largely remained. At the University of Santiago the number of male teachers exceeded 62 per cent of the total teacher population, at Diego Portales University, 69 per cent and at the University of Chile, 52 per cent. There was no information about Andrés Bello University. This number shows a masculine dominance of the teacher endowment in journalism education. Teacher qualifications also remain sex-segregated.



**Figure 52:** Total number of journalism education teacher staff and qualification by universities 2012. The figure does not include Andrés Bello University because there was no information available.

In terms of qualifications, two of the three universities have a higher number of male teachers who hold PhDs. The exception is the prestigious University of Chile, where 53 per cent of the PhDs are held by female teachers, but this appears to be the exception. According to Ella, although there are more women within journalism education, there was still a big difference:

The university is a disaster in terms of gender equity. Most of the senior lecturers are men. You can see it when you go to a public presentation or a university assembly. I would say 98 per cent of senior teachers are men. For a woman to become a senior lecturer is very difficult. So there is an equality issue within the university that has not been solved.

Men predominate in leadership positions. All the heads of the four journalism schools examined were men. Across all universities in Chile that deliver journalism education, 23 per cent of heads of schools of journalism were women. Maria described it:

There are a lot of [female] academics, but not in higher positions. There is discrimination. Women [teachers] in terms of shifts, have fewer opportunities to do research, fewer possibilities to compete, to move up, to ascend in an academic career. Now this is crossed by several realities. The reality is that, for example, if you look at mass media organisations, there is a pyramid where women abound in writing at low levels. It tapers off



when positions of responsibility increase. When you get to the tip of the pyramid there are mostly men, and that is a reality that journalists refuse to see, or argue about [...]. In academia, it is the same. There is no recognition that men have privileges because they are men. Women do not have equal opportunities. You have to see what happens in academic cloisters. I think our dean is the only [female] dean across the university.

Javiera claimed:

There are three women in leadership positions, so from an institutional point of view there is a female presence. But in relation to numbers of teachers, we have more men than women. Especially those who work in the media industry, because the environment is so absorbing and so masculine in that sense, that women who start working there, once they decide to have children and become a mum, have no time for being a mother and also continue working in the mass media industry. It is very difficult. The work is tremendous. Here at the university there is a female teacher who has no children. She works at a political magazine. She works until 5-6 am, closing the magazine. So in general we have more men than women in the industry.

Javiera described a practice that is understood as masculinised because it requires the presence of people 100 per cent. She also noted the paradox of the practice: “What is curious is that, in the case of nurses, although there are shifts of 24-hour period, this is not read as masculine work”. The time dedicated, it is not in itself what generates a masculine conception of journalism; rather it is the meaning of the practice. In this sense masculinisation of practice is not exclusively learned and promoted by men, but also by women who have the objective of gaining a position of power. Maria’s account is an example of the complex power relationship.

Maria:

There was difficulty, I felt, in my journalistic practice that I had to dress up as a man [...] I saw that the only ones that were able to say things were men and that the few women who stood out were very masculine in their attitudes.

Administrative and secretarial staff are highly sex segregated. One-hundred per cent of the student administration staff were women in the four universities. This suggests a division of labour according to sex category. Men had more powerful positions and fewer administrative duties. This trend has also been found in other countries such as Australia (Peetz, Strachan and Troup, 2014; and Eveline, 2004), Senegal (Diaw, 2007) and the United States (Currie, Thiele and Harris, 2002).

Jose pointed out:

In general the authorities are more men than women, and if there is a woman in a position of power the manner of commanding tends to be machista. Usually, the woman who commands a group as a woman is not going to be promoted if she does not behave like men do. They need to structure their team like men do. Almost all the women heads that I meet working, they have been women who have driven it like a man, with the same values.

Social class background emerges as a significant issue in the accounts of power positions. Teachers from the older generation recognised that, although some women have been able to reach leadership positions, these women were part of the elite.

Peter's narrative (see Chapter 5) is an example of the complex intersection between social class positioning and gender subjectivity. Power relations are established between the sexes but also within the sexes.

### **Gendered curriculum**

As shown in Chapter 4, none of the curricula reviewed included a specific gender unit identifiable by the word, "gender", "feminism", "masculinity", "masculinities" or "women" in the title or the description. Closer analysis of the content showed that three of the four universities had some content related to gender. At Diego Portales University, references to gender were found in two of the 43 compulsory units. The unit TV Journalism incorporated material on how to report without sexist language and argued for respecting the audience. In the unit Media 1 Press, there was no specific gender language, but this unit included an activity that used women's magazines. The aim of the activity was to understand how to create journalistic

content and to recognise the selection criteria for content in women's magazines. In addition, the university offered seminars or documents that were linked to UNESCO, based on an initiative called Cátedra UNESCO: Periodismo no sexista (UNESCO lecture on non-sexist journalism). The initiative attempted to highlight issues of concern to UNESCO, such as gender. In 2011 the university promoted a new document launched by UNESCO about non-sexist journalism.

The University of Santiago incorporates gender explicitly in at least two compulsory units and one unit of specialisation. Gender content was found in Fundamentals of History of Journalism and Sociology, both of which integrated gender as explicit content focusing on social inequality, segregation, and stereotyping as a socialisation factor. The Art specialisation unit was the only elective that shows a clear intention to address gender issues. The program, lasting two semesters, used non-sexist language, offering students gender content and requiring students to read books and articles that addressed the subject of gender (see Chapter 4).

The University of Chile has only one compulsory unit that incorporated gender as content. The unit is called Crónica Periodística y Sociedad (Journalistic Report and Society). The content focuses on treatment of news with non-sexist language. The unit Editing Journalism shows gender-inclusive language in its study program, but the unit did not specify any content related to gender. The elective Rights of Children and Journalism is a unit that is delivered as a product of a negotiation between the Chilean Corporation and The United Nations (ACHNU). This elective contains a gender perspective and incorporates issues such as inequality, child abuse and a rights approach in general.

Within the four journalism degrees, no universities explicitly offer a core unit that contained gender contents or perspectives. Reference to gender appears as an isolated initiative of some teachers or as agreements between specific Chilean and international institutions. There is an evident lack of recognition that the curricula are a set of rules or symbolic practices that produced a certain type of culture which, in this case, reproduces a privileged masculine gender regime. In this respect the journalism education curricula as a whole are gendered curricula.

In the interviews, most full-time and part-time teachers confirmed the results found in the unit outlines. Regardless of their generation or type of labour, all full-time

teachers acknowledged a lack of content and an absence of gender within the curriculum.

Sonia stated:

Especially in Journalism, I think, it is absent (referring to gender contents) [...]. It is absent from the curriculum. I am not saying that it is absent from the imagination of people or from the consciousness of teachers and academics [...]. However, as far as I know, gender issues are not in the curriculum.

Carlos pointed out, “I believe that there are no content or very few.”

However, the answers given by part-teachers tended to be ambiguous about their knowledge of presence of gender content. Although some of the interviewees referred to an absence of gender content, they were not sure if there was or not. This shows the lack of knowledge of the curricula, and especially with regard to gender as knowledge and practice. It coincides with Carolina’s description of practice, “each teacher teaches lo que se le da la gana (what they want)” which includes gender. An example was given by John: “From what I see, I do not know if it is a theme or not. I do not know”. Part-time teachers were less familiar with the curricula, which could be explained due to their contract conditions

According to Carolina, journalism has a historical apathy, not only to gender but also to other issues that involve reflection about minorities. She explained that this apathy is generated because journalists are educated “to be neutral”. At the university and in the mass media industry, if any one of her colleagues incorporated a gender perspective in journalism practice or in the treatment of journalistic topics, they would be accused of, “distorting reality, which goes against what a journalist should do, which is to reconstruct reality as it is and not as it should be”. Carolina attributes this idea of neutrality to a journalistic conception that holds that journalists should not subscribe to any creed or cause, including religion. A gender perspective is therefore seen as an ideology that should be kept out of the informative role of journalism.

This supposed “neutrality” has a consequence that gender is treated as a technicality related to language. Thus the main discussion about gender, according to Maria, is if a

gender perspective needs to be incorporated or not within the text.<sup>32</sup> Any act to incorporate gender in terms of language is identified by her colleagues (teachers and journalists) as “artificial” (fake). Some journalists saw gender-conscious language as an imposition. In Carolina’s words: “It is a narrative that is separate from the truth”. Therefore, they did not want to incorporate a gender perspective within their practice. Similar outcomes have been found by Salomon (2014) in her study of development journalism and gender in Tanzania.

From Carolina’s perspective, this resistance is produced by an unconscious hegemonic masculinity reflected in the text and the practice of journalism: “When journalists speak about a gender perspective they are thinking of the text but not what it is about”. She attributes this pattern to the lack of awareness of the gender order and the lack of commitment to change it, which Carolina thinks is not present within the journalism school or the industry. For her, an example is the mass media representation of the Chilean population, where the majority of Chileans have been ignored, particularly women, with the media portraying Chileans mainly as upper-class white men. As she expressed it: “The majority of Chileans are treated as a minority.”

What can be found in teaching practice about gender are individual initiatives by teachers who are interested in the subject and who incorporate gender into their practice. As we saw in Maria’s case and in Chapter 5, most of these initiatives are by teachers who had established a connection to gender as the result of a significant relationship.

Pedro said:

I think there are some attempts to include gender perspectives. I know of one case, a teacher from the University of Santiago. But I think it is a personal attempt. I do not see that this issue is clearly included in the curricula.

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<sup>32</sup> In Spanish, gender is a grammatical category to refer to substantives, adjectives, pronouns and articles. So for example, a teacher would be profesor (masculine) or profesora (feminine). Therefore, the incorporation of gender in a text, for example, involves the acknowledgement of both masculine and feminine in each substantive, adjective, pronoun and article that might be used.

Paola described:

We have a full-time teacher who works on it [gender]. There are also another two female teachers, I am with them; I think it is important [...]. One of them is an editorial teacher. In her unit, if students have to write a journalist note or an essay, she makes them incorporate inclusive language to identify sex. For example: el sujeto, la sujeta (the individual). She does simple things like that and it is OK. But I think it forces gender in the text [...]. Also gender is not the only issue, why cannot we talk about multiculturalism? Multiculturalism is super important [...]. I think it is very important to discuss it (gender), I think it will be very interesting to discuss gender. Why? Because we need to see what the limitations are to this discussion, for example in practice [...].

It is important to keep sight of the contradictions that gender provokes. Although Paola values the initiative to incorporate gender, at the same time, she questioned the practice of incorporating gender and its benefits to journalism. This contradiction reflects the patriarchal gender order within journalism education but also within the social structure where the dynamics of gender are displayed. Paola exemplified it:

This is a structural problem. You can find a lot of discrimination by male teachers. You can see it when you hear them, for example in a private space or in staff meetings [...] we have a teacher who brings his discrimination to the classroom. He has been called in several times by the Dean to work on it. I think in his case gender is absent from his discourse.

As Paola says, there appears to be an absence of gender within the curricula of journalism education, as well as in the discourse of some teachers. However, this is not the case from a relational perspective of gender. What the curriculum of each university reveals is a gender order that produces specific dynamics in the production and circulation of knowledge. While gender is not named, the curriculum is continually gendered by those who produce and implement it. These findings are very similar to what Bacchi and Eveline (2010) found in their study about approaches to gender mainstreaming in policies, where they argue that policies are gendered by who generate the policy. What is manifested through the curricula is a generalised pattern of social practice where, in the case of the four case study universities, the masculine

has shaped social practice and the production and circulation of knowledge. This form of organising social practice and the production of knowledge is so institutionalised that it appears as if it does not exist and, ironically, many times it is identified by the interviewees as a neutral gender dynamic.

However, gender neutrality was not evident in the curricula. Gender was displayed in each university through the discourse and social relations that each university promoted through its curriculum, i.e. there was a curricular structure that was gendered (see Chapter 4).

### **Production of gender research**

Many of the respondents agreed that education was highly ghettoised: obligating teachers to choose between teaching and research results in a vacuum in journalism education and its practice. Full-time teaching respondents acknowledged the difficulties for journalism education academics to have a systematic production of knowledge, especially related to research that, according to Maria, also involves gender research. Also, as we saw in Peter's case, producing knowledge from research has become very difficult because a style of managerial regulation has been imposed through indicators and incentives that have changed research and teaching practice.

According to full-time teachers from public universities, this has led to a change from disciplinary research to applied research.

Peter pointed out:

When you research in this new model, people ask you, so what is this research useful for? In other words, you cannot research for the sake of knowing anymore.

Ella:

This paradigm that is being installed is technocracy [...] I think this paradigm makes people produce other things and leave aside thinking more critically and creatively and within that I mean also leave aside gender issues [...] and I would say that is part of that neoliberal bug that has impregnated the university. Knowledge has been privatised. I mean,

people stop thinking about disciplines and start to think in particles, in how to find funds for [their] own project. People start to be functional to specific and particular interests and not to a much more global perspective [...]. There is no continuity either.

University culture has moved away from developing systemic intellectual production. Neoliberal education has brought not only new emphasis on practical education contents but also a new administration culture. This is reflected in an over-valuation of administrative processes and standardisation of knowledge production as a part of the university ranking system.<sup>33</sup> There is consequently a hindrance in the establishment of work teams that are able to generate long-term research plans.

In particular, full-time teachers from public universities pointed out the constant tension between following bureaucratic processes and the production of knowledge. This problem appears to be critical in journalism education in Chile, where the lack of research, and discontinuity in what is done, is evident (see Chapter 1).

Paradoxically, as seen in Paolo's and Anna's cases, this shift has a different meaning for teachers in private universities. What is seen as an obstruction for knowledge production in public universities becomes functional in private universities.

Full-time teachers from private universities argued that the emphasis on ranking and the administrative changes have favoured the production of knowledge within their universities. Private universities now have an economic incentive that allows teachers to distribute part of their workload to research. However, each private university has to decide whether to be part of the chain of knowledge production.

Each university has defined unique organisational structures to support the production and circulation of knowledge. They vary significantly. In general terms, public universities are the stronger producers of research, and develop the field in academic terms. Diego Portales University has made an important effort to be part of the production of knowledge in journalism research. However, the University of Chile and University of Santiago lead the production of research. Andrés Bello University

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<sup>33</sup> Ranking system refers to the list of global universities that are evaluated by their performance in terms of their missions – teaching, research, knowledge transfer and international outlook. This type of ranking could be one by magazines such as *THE*, or by international institutions such as the OECD.



does not participate as an institution in the production of research. It focuses only on delivering a professional education (see more about gender knowledge production in Chapter 6)

It was not common to find formal research and publications on the subject of gender knowledge at the universities examined. Two have some research explicitly about gender. The University of Chile has produced the most. Three of 30<sup>34</sup> studies by The Institute of Communication and Image are related to gender. Beatriz: “I think the issue has not been installed in the university or in the academic space, because universities do not engender a real space to generate specific analysis in the area.”

Students through their degree theses seem to have produced most of the knowledge of gender within journalism education. According to some teachers, there is an interest among students to explore and produce gender knowledge. Javiera put it concisely: “I do not think teachers have participated in gender research. I think the vast majority of the research has been done by students who are interested in the subject”. It is difficult to get a total number of theses related to gender because they are not official publications and most are not available to the general public.

Of the studies on gender done by research staff, the majority are done by women or homosexuals. John reflected: “I think these are themes supported by women. I do not have any doubt that it is important but I have never heard a man talking about gender”. John’s narrative also shows that it depends on the social context as to who is more likely to talk about gender issues:

Politicians talk about women because they are looking for votes. They include gender issues to get votes, but I have not seen a man in a conversation raise gender issues, at least not in academia or journalism.

Rebecca and John also attribute the production of gender knowledge to women’s interests.

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<sup>34</sup> Data obtained from: [Chapter.icei.uchile.cl/investigacion](http://Chapter.icei.uchile.cl/investigacion)

Rebecca:

In Chile I have seen few people generate gender research. In general they are sociologists, and in journalism. If there are some, they are ‘minas’ (very feminine women). It is extraordinary to see men doing gender studies. In fact I have not seen one, at least in Chile anyway. Also, I do not think that gender is important as a variable to be studied.

John:

I think this is a subject that women are interested in but not men. I do not know if it is because there are more male teachers at the university or because of the age of the men.

Full-time and part-time teachers and teachers who are journalists recognised that individuals do gender research because of a personal interest in the subject. Paolo recognised that although there is some intellectual productions of gender knowledge in the field of journalism education, there is no consolidated line of research.

In this context, the production of gender knowledge is not exclusively related to an intellectual interest, but is also linked to an emotional and ideological interest. The fact that Paolo and Anna talked about “particular sensitivities” suggests that the production of knowledge is connected to specific emotional feelings that are attributed to a specific sex. In this case this particular sensitivity is attributed to women.

Economic support for research in the area of gender is minimal and generally conditioned by funding that incorporates sex as a variable. The predominant approach to gender, when there is research, is from the notion of difference, as established in Chapter 1.

On another level of institutional analysis, teachers recognised that the incorporation of gender within research projects or initiatives, such as the publication of investigative journalism, is a matter of prestige and economic incentive.

Carolina:

Gender is not a theme or issue that is explored in any journalism programs. If gender appears at all, it is because some universities get international funding or because a university joined with an institution that gave prestige to the university, such as UNESCO.

Other interviewees, such as Paolo, think that gender is not genuinely part of a process of internal reflection at the university or something that is considered a necessary focus of study, but is rather an opportunity to get funding and prestige because of the link that it establishes with the institutions that finance gender projects.

Paolo:

If the alliances do not include funding, most of the time the alliance with international institutions is done to increase institutional prestige. Alliances are used as a marketing tool to promote the degree within the market. There is no difference between public and private universities.

Carolina:

The university has joined with five other institutions to do two activities during the year. One focus is on rewarding journalistic work that protects poor people from being denigrated in the media, and the other activity is research on poverty. But what I see all the time is people *se lavan la boca* (bragging) that we work with UNESCO. Yet, in informal conversation they think that our work on poverty is boring and useless. That is why I say that it happens not only with gender. All that has to do with incorporating discriminated or neglected social sectors within academia is seen as an act of goodwill or charity.

A later, informal, conversation with Carolina's colleagues confirmed Carolina's and Paolo's views. They expressed total lack of interest in the program. There is a consensus between the interviewees that the apathy that people and organisations demonstrate toward gender applied to all social problems.

Private and public universities see the link with external institutions as an opportunity mainly to obtain resources, rather than to generate knowledge. Production of knowledge seems not to be associated with social change. There are some external attempts to readdress dominant power relations but there is no local political willingness to change.

### **Resistances toward gender**

Journalists and journalism teachers rarely discuss gender. Most of the interviewees acknowledged that they never thought about gender within journalism education and journalism in general, independent of the type of university or the type of labour. John: “No one has asked about gender before. I have never thought about it and therefore, it has never been an issue to me.”

There is a pattern of resistance to gender as a political, academic and ideological concept but also as a part of the construction of identity. The resistance to talk about gender occurs at different levels, depending on which aspect of life the respondent narrated. Resistance is displayed as a part of the life trajectory and in the work trajectory.

This resistance to talk about gender generated an apparent absence of gender in the discourse of most of the interviewees. Interviewees only talked about gender when the subject was explicitly broached and, even then, most of them were unable to fully talk about it. Yet gender was always present. The dynamics of gender could be seen through personal narratives, conditions of works and the production of knowledge.

### **Theorising an intellectual resistance towards gender**

The most obvious resistance appears in terms of theorising. Most of the interviewees resisted talking about how personal narratives related to gender dynamics and gender knowledge. When asked about gender and their own experience, most male journalists and teachers and one female teacher theorised about gender rather than talking about their own personal gender dynamics.

Rebecca claimed:

Personally, apart from ideas weonas (silly ideas), I have never felt that gender was important [...] I do not think that is the most important thing. But maybe it is a personal issue [...] it is never meant anything for me. It is not a problem. Hmmm, there is something in the professional attitude, in the discourse, but men and women do not think differently. In practice women have less power, worse salaries, but apart from that you do not find anything. In all the studies that have been done about professional culture, the gender variable is the least significant. Age is more significant than gender. If you look at different research about journalists, the variable of gender does not appear. You have to look really in-depth to find something.

Theorising is used to justify their opposition to gender, downgrading gender as a part of teaching practice and as part of their own identity and social relations. The respondents presented well-established patterns of theorising, which coincided with a distinctive intellectual version of masculinity.

Likewise intellectualisation by both women and men appear in a patronising way in order to establish a rational academic position and to minimise and deny gender as knowledge. This pattern is presented as an intellectual power relationship that interviewees established as a part of their practice. This power relationship is radicalised, depending on the power position that the interviewee has in terms of role and institutional position.

Emmanuel put it succinctly:

I always considered gender as something that I could not understand. I could not stand, I do not resist [...]. Gender is insignificant for me and therefore to my current position [...], in this school – even before – there was no definition of gender. In contrast, we have a multicultural policy at the school, and ... it is significantly more important because it is an issue that has more sustainability. Multiculturalism means acknowledging the world in which we live, that is a multicultural world.

Hugo pointed out:

For me, other issues are more urgent. For me as a researcher, the big umbrella and the issue that will mark my research and book from here for at least 10 years is inequality, not gender.

Each role within the institution defines frontiers of where gender may or may not develop within the curriculum, i.e. the dynamics of practice will define the scope of where gender is in terms of knowledge. In these cases, Emmanuel as a director will define the scope in terms of management, while Hugo will define it in his practice as teacher and journalist.

Emmanuel pointed out:

(Asking about gender within the degree) Gender is something that I hate. I do not agree with positive discrimination [...] I do not think about it (referring to the incorporation of gender within the curricula) maybe if I thought differently about it, maybe something would happen [...].

It is clear in the interviews that the intellectual conception that interviewees developed was intimately related to their own experience of gender configuration and, at the same time, related to a historical configuration of the gender regime. Respondents who did not have emotional relationships with people involved in gender issues, or with a person who had felt discriminated against for gender reasons, showed higher levels of resistance or avoidance talking about gender.

In contrast, people who did have relationships with someone involved in gender issues did not show resistance to gender. This was the case with three female teachers and one man, who identified their connection to gender as the result of a significant relationship with someone who had fought for equality or women's rights or had been discriminated against. These interviewees established a relationship in the past with a significant other whom they defined as the key to their awareness and concerns about gender, usually their mother or a female teacher interested in gender issues.

Carolina, for example, was strongly touched by the life of her mother, especially by how her mother had fought against the traditional gender role of women. Carolina

recognised that what her mother did was an act toward political, social and cultural responses to the inequalities she faced. Although this is not Carolina's current situation, she still feels committed to fighting for equality and social justice. In Maria's case, she recognised her teacher as the person who taught her to value gender as a social issue. It was the figure of her teacher and her spirit that marked Maria's teaching practice.

It shows the power of education in terms of its ability to influence practice itself. Teachers seemed to be more influential than the contents that students had to learn during the degree. In this sense, a teacher will bring to the student's practice a "stamp, imprint" rather than an institutional body of knowledge.

Although only one of the interviewees defined themselves as feminist, there are some elements from feminist discourse that match with the discourse of this group of respondents. But their narratives did not link this to feminism. Working-class experience and left-wing political ideology become an explanation for the interest in gender and for their construction and notion of gender.

Following this idea, it could be argued that people bring emotional and ideological elements to their production practices, configured by their personal experience, linked to a significant other. In the case of gender, this emotional link, created by a significant other, is a key driver for people to place themselves closer to gender as knowledge, issue or perspective.

### **Resistance to gender from practice**

Most of the interviewees did not incorporate gender as part of their pedagogical practice or learning strategies. This was the case, regardless of generation, sex, political orientation (left-wing or right-wing), type of teaching, or journalistic work.

Robert related how resistance to gender is linked to the construction of professional practice.

I think the journalists who run universities or teachers have usually worked as journalists and are near the end of their professional careers, changing to teaching or running universities. Therefore, they feel that such things (in relation to incorporating gender) make the journalistic work

difficult rather than improving it. [...] For example, it is hard to change what we call people: women were once called the weaker sex, which generates a certain meaning. These types of things are difficult for journalists to change because they see no need for it.

As Robert observes, journalists tend to reproduce elements of industrial experience in their practices as journalism educators. Patriarchal views are thus embedded in cultural dynamics and reproduced within professional education.

This is expressed with greater clarity when respondents talk about curricula. Some teachers argued that the absence of gender content is due to the practice of journalism itself, since journalism evokes the need of impartiality and neutrality. Meritocracy appears as the fair way to justify the distribution of the rewards of teaching practice.

Hugo stated:

Personally, I do not think that we have to have the same amount of men and women. What interests me is, if there is a directory of 10 people, these 10 people should be elected for their capacity, so we have to learn to distinguish when there is real discrimination and when we want to address gender to achieve an artificial equality.

The concept of meritocracy is particularly embraced by teachers (full-time and casual) from private universities, a younger generation of teachers from public universities and by journalists in general.

Sonia:

Personally, I am capable and competent. I do not think that gender is an issue [...] I have never felt that gender influenced my professional development. Never. I could not say that, because I am a woman my career has been affected, as many people say [...].

The belief in meritocracy functions as an illusion of neutrality of the measurement of practice and its achievements. It is used as a justification to create distance from any gender analysis, reinforcing a gender regime that reproduces hegemonic gender practices.



Meritocracy appears as a way of conceptualising power relations between sexes. Some interviewees, such as Emmanuel and Sonia, used meritocracy as a political and ideological position to explain the gender order. The reference to meritocracy by interviewees is specifically related to the intellectual capacities that can be measured. None of the interviewees specified how these capacities were measured and what was really measured. It appears more as a system of belief than anything else.

The argument for the primacy of meritocracy renders gender structures and the cultures of gender production within the organisation invisible. Meritocracy advocates not only appear as a new class of people who won their position by endeavour, overcoming material and cultural difficulties, but also appear as a non-gendered and asexual elite.

Beyond the ideology of gender-neutral meritocracy, there is an explicit opposition to a feminist viewpoint and gender. Emmanuel is a perfect example of open opposition.

Emmanuel:

This question called positive discrimination, I do not agree. I never did. I really dislike it. The statements that gender determines certain conditions, it is not valid. I am of the idea, a more general and global idea, that men and women have roles, functions and ways of being. Perhaps it is related to culture, but so what? I do not have much sensibility to the subject, to be honest, not to feminism [...].

Emmanuel sees gender as a feminist way to understand social dynamics, especially in relations between men and women. Emmanuel and other interviewees such as Beatriz rejected feminism, due to the ideological charge that most of the respondents attribute to it and the idea that feminism is for women and against men.

Beatriz pointed out:

It happens that feminists reject the other, especially men. Because when you work with feminists everything turns out to be machista (sexist) or everything is a patriarchal system. If a colleague serves you a coffee, they will say, hey dude why are you serving me? Do you want something with

me? I think basically these things happen because feminists are over ideologised.

There is a negative conception of feminism. Seven of the interviewees saw feminism as problematic, confrontational, a way to present women as victims or a means to take advantage of a given situation. As John claimed:

I think that we should talk about gender when there is a need, because sometimes women se van al pocino (take advantage) and intend to treat all themes from a gender perspective. I think it is important but only when there is real discrimination.

It is important to point out that during the interviews feminism was never asked about. Both the teachers and journalists tended to conflate gender and feminism spontaneously.

### **Emotions and resistance towards gender**

As we have seen through the analysis, emotions are a strong element of gender relations and dynamics. Emotions are conceptualised as an attribute that people have, depending on their sex. This notion of emotions as attribute is based on the idea of a reproductive difference and perceived characteristics between sexes. It is assumed that there are dichotomous characteristics that are defined as naturally opposite, between men and women. This conception of emotions is situated at a rational level that generates explanations for different behaviours that people have but also generates a rational justification for sex stereotypes within journalism.

John exemplified this. He recognised that there is a tendency to characterise women in mass media as victims, due to the nature of women, which he describes as “sensitive and emotional.”

John:

Women are keener to express emotions; they are more emotional anyway. You can see this in politics. Some people say that when a man gets angry, he is a man with character, but when a woman gets angry, she is hysterical. I think there is a machismo that is real, but I think women take

advantage of it. In politics when you attack a man, it is a political attack, but if you attack a woman, it is cowardly [...] so you have to take care when attacking a woman [...] definitely, I think that there is a game where women take advantage of this weakness.

Most of the male respondents, such as John, acknowledged that suggesting that women have strategies, or that men and women have differences, is inappropriate and is condemned by different sectors and people. However, even though talking about these differences is not accepted, it reflects what people think, believe and practice.

John:

Maybe it is not politically correct, but I am not sure that men and women have the same capacities. I think that gender is not present as a public agenda because it is not an issue for everyone.

At another level of relationship – ironically more emotional and unconscious – it was possible to find that emotions are part of the construction of gender as knowledge.

The statement that men are rational, more rational than emotional women, appears to get lost when men talk about gender. Independent of the university and the type of labour practice, male journalists often appeared to talk about gender from their emotions.

Although most male interviewees tried to intellectualise their narrative and explanation, as seen with Emmanuel's statement earlier, there is a tendency to talk about gender from their negative emotions, such as anger or frustration. Emmanuel's case is a good example of emotional anger towards gender. Nevertheless he had the need to rationalise, and generate an intellectual justification to explain why he disagrees with gender issues. The more he rationalised, the more that emotional components appeared in his discussion.

This emotional component appears not only in relation to relationships with people, but can also be found in relation to the production of gender knowledge or simply in the generation of opinion or beliefs about gender. Emotional relationships were found in intellectual work. There is a specific emotional relationship with the work that is

done, especially when gender is involved. In Maria's case (Chapter 5) for example, she established an emotional relationship with her practice and especially in relation to incorporating gender in her practice. She feels passion and also a commitment to gender equality and feminism.

Positive and negative emotions about gender are not just symbolic. The narratives of the interviewees are part of its practice. Therefore, emotions do not only stay at the level of reasoning but exist also at the level of action, practice, reaction and reproduction of any intellectual labour and production of knowledge.

Emotions are associated and experienced as a part of a theoretical or intellectual idea such as gender. This becomes more complex with the transformation of emotions into social dynamics. Following this idea, I would argue that there are not only ideological and political components in the development of intellectual labour but also there is an emotional component that in this case is part of the reproduction of gender patterns.

### **Symbolism and resistance towards gender**

The case studies identified a number of processes that reproduce a male-dominated gender order. These processes involve ideology of gender and symbolism.

For instance, the division of labour is associated with masculine jobs that are defined as physically more demanding or involving high technology and are more exposed socially, for example reporting. Carolina pointed out that at her university "there is a teacher who, when there is journalist work to do, he prioritises men to perform roles such as camera operator or reporting, and leaves women in administrative duties."

Even though this was not explicit discrimination, it was symbolic action to keep a specific gender order. In terms of journalism, the labour process is not only associated with a specific practice, depending on the sex (as we have seen), but also involves a different social space. Distinctions between jobs involving public spaces (outside) or private space (inside) are sexually segregated. Outside jobs, such as camera operator and reporting, are masculine jobs, but inside jobs such as administrative duties are feminine. This order of the labour practice within journalism and journalism education tends to reproduce a masculine gender pattern.

There are also transitions in the culture of journalism that create and develop a specific way in which gender is conceived. Predominately, the practice of social issues is assumed by women and as a part of the “natural” female practice. Thus, almost all the interviewees that work in gender were women; only one man does it. According to Carolina, everything related to incorporating gender or discrimination or neglected sectors of the population is seen as an act of goodwill or charity that is done by female teachers due to their special attributes and “sensitivities” (as seen in Chapter 5), which is reinforced by the conception of opposite attributes between men and women.

Interviewees such as Carolina provided evidence of a strong gendered culture and its dynamics that are sometimes hidden under a “political correctness”. For her, the main symbolic practice of acknowledging the advance towards a more equal gender regime is part of the mainstream adoption by academics and institutions to appear to be doing the “right thing”. Carolina pointed out that political correctness is manifested through different symbolic practices, such as using an inclusive language in public acts or through awards for the advancement of women within academia.

Sonia put it succinctly:

It is politically correct to say that we all have the same rights. At the university, they set the day of the women or the day of the academic women, but it is enough to look at the pay list and you will see women do not earn the same as men in the same positions. [...] As a friend from the university who is a great academic said, ‘women’s issues are not a priority because we have a lot of other problems’. [...] The main point is that we have to prioritise. I think even women agree with him. It is not a priority.

However, symbolism goes further than political correctness. As Chapter 5 shows, universities generate specific alliances with international institutions. These alliances are symbolic acts of interest in relation to gender.

Sonia pointed out:

These alliances in terms of gender are not genuinely part of a process of internal reflection at the university or because people believe that having this alliance is part of a long-term focus of study.

Alliances are used as marketing tools, to promote the degree within the market. There was no difference between public and private universities. Carolina claimed: “The University does this because it yields prestige, but there is no real interest in gender issues.”

### **Mapping relationships between journalism education and mass media industry**

The relationship between the mass media industry and journalism education can be grouped into five configurations: labour exchange, the production of knowledge, academic knowledge in the media, exchange of specialist skills, and regulation.

Broadly, the relationship between the mass media industry and universities is identified as poorly developed and conflicted. For instance, poor relationships are associated almost exclusively with the labour exchange of students and teachers from the university to the industry. On the other hand, a conflicted relationship between industry and universities is associated with ideologies of journalism education practice.

This Chapter examines the persistent absence of gender from the narratives of the interviewees (see Chapter 5). One is reminded that meaningfulness always contains an absence as well as a presence and, sometimes in the absence of things, one becomes conscious of a presence that one may have overlooked. Gender is absent from the narrative of the interviewees; however, there are clear gendered relationships within the industry.

#### **Labour exchange**

Journalists and teachers agree that the main relationship established since the degree of journalism started is the exchange of students between universities and the mass media industry. This exchange is made via an internship at the end of the degree. As

shown in Chapter 3, an internship is a compulsory stage to graduation. It is considered a key component of the curriculum that gives students the opportunity to gain work experience.

The internship obligates universities to generate administrative connections with the industry. As Eduardo noted: “The relationship we have with universities is really poor. Our relationship is only through the students who come here to do their internship”. Paola had a similar opinion: “We are linked to the industry through the internship of our students; we have 100 per cent of our students doing internships, so students are linked to the mass media industry but also to other organisations.”

There was a difference between public and private universities in how they related to the mass media industry. Public universities tend to have recognised relationships with the industry, at least with the mainstream media. Private universities tend to have more relationships with independent media, and organisations or institutions that are not necessarily part of the mainstream industry. This includes relationships with NGOs. The type of media that students are able to access depends firstly on whether they had attended a private or public university, and secondly on the political orientation of the university.

Interviewees agreed that labour exchange provides students with an opportunity to both know the industry as well as to gain practical skills. For the industry, it provides a future workforce. The labour exchange relationship is focused on one main activity: an internship that is a practice experience within the industry.

Full-time teachers who were more politically involved expected that the incorporation of their students into the industry would generate change within the industry through generational turnover, e.g. in journalistic ethics. Paola described the sentiment:

We try to ensure that our students go to different types of media, and we try to ensure that they go to the industry to fill up different areas and places of decision-making. We want them to enter these places of decision-making because it is very important that if they're in these places – they could change practices that we are continually criticising at the journalism school.

In contrast, journalists often have a negative perception of the possibility of change.

John:

It might sound bad, but I do not think that education will change the media. If we think that improving journalism education will improve the media, I think this is a quixotic task. It is delusional. I think it is very difficult because behind the media there is economic power. [...] Students could be very educated, but if they do not know the industry, they cannot work and, although they do know the media, they cannot change it. The universities say that 90 per cent of their graduates have gotten jobs, but to do that, universities have to adapt to the media industry. I do not know how much teachers make students do work as if they were in the industry, but they should do it, as medical students do in hospitals.

John was a good example of how journalists think. Although he acknowledged that the relationship based in labour exchange is the main relationship between universities and the industry, he also acknowledged that the transfer of knowledge is functional to class interests. To the industry, labour is knowledge-making, which is done according to organisational criteria and according to internal organisational social routines.

Ella added that:

In the Chilean case, journalists do not have any influence with the board of directors of any mass media industry, [...] journalists do not have any place within the directorships. They do not run the industry. Journalists are employees of the board of directors of the mass media industry but they do not have any voice.

Neither journalists nor teachers suggested that changes in practice also involve changes in the culture of the industry. However, research by Mellado (2010), showed that eight out of 10 journalists were under 40 and there was an important segregation of labour that started with the internship. Males dominated by over 60 per cent in areas such as production of content in media, teaching and miscellaneous. The only area where women dominated was in corporate communication, where they were over



60 per cent.

According to the Chilean Ministry of Education figures (2012), 65 per cent of journalism education students who graduated were female. But women are a minority of those who obtain positions in the mass media industry.

The second labour exchange between universities and industry is the incorporation of journalists as a workforce within universities, especially as part-time teachers. Journalists see this incorporation of journalists as part-time teachers as an exchange of workforce and a contribution to academia. According to some journalists, this incorporation is a way to connect the practice of journalism with academic discipline, and is a way to bring 'true journalism' to the classroom.

John pointed out:

A teacher who is not currently working in the media cannot transmit what is the reality of the media. I think it is good to have permanent teachers but in journalism education to have permanent teachers that are focused just on academia, it is against to the idea of teaching journalism. If you have a university with 90 per cent permanent teachers, it means that only 10 per cent are working in the media, and I do not know if it is good. I think that, in the case of journalism, it is more valuable to have teachers that are currently in the media, although these journalists allocate one hour of his or her time to go to work at the university. So I think that there is a lack of connection between universities and the mass media industry because there are too many permanent teachers. You can see it, for example in teachers who teach Ethics. Unfortunately they are not in line with what is happening in the mass media.

In such arguments, work experience is valued over learning. "True journalism" is attained only through a labour process of practice, such as reporting or being a camera operator. As Jose pointed out: "Theory is okay, but it is very important to know practical things. For example locution: one of the most important things in journalism is how you read. We should all learn to read scripts."

Full-time teachers did not often elaborate on practical aspects of the relationship with the mass media industry. They elaborated a more analytical and emotional narrative about the relationship with the industry. From their perspectives, this was a damaged relationship, due to the prejudices from journalists towards academics and vice versa. As examined previously, teachers and journalists had conflicting notions about the purpose of journalism and therefore what should be taught within journalism education. The conflict results in a fracture between the practices of journalism and teaching journalism. Emotional conflicts develop in this context.

Anna narrated:

Journalists who work in industry believe that journalists in academia hate them. They think that academics want to hurt, and that we spend all our time criticising them [...]. On the other hand, there is the feeling from academia, that there is no respect for what is done in academia [...] journalists argue that this is because we are not on-site, we do not understand journalism because we do not do journalism. They think that as teachers we are only thinking from the theoretical perspective and we do not understand how the media works.

Journalists and teachers did not mention the dynamics of gender in discussing this type of relationship. There is a gender dynamic of labour that was not questioned by the interviewees.

## **Research**

Research plays a small part in the relationships between universities and industry. Most interviewees agreed on this, whether because the industry is not interested in research or because universities produced research that is not useful to the industry.

Part-time teachers/journalists and full-time teachers operated with quite different notions of what research is and what university-media knowledge production was. Part-time teachers/journalists called research to applied studies, such as studies of audience and consumer behaviour. This type of research is generally consigned to consultancies. Carlos pointed out: “In general, all that we do is applicable to the industry: we consult the industry; we create data obtained from the industry and

provide data to the industry, generally related to audience studies”. Research is seen as a process of generating data rather than a discipline.

On the other hand, full-time teachers do not often view research as something that links universities with the industry. For them, research is a process of production and is related particularly to critical research. Critical research gives full-time teachers a sense of freedom in a space where the independence of the university is validated. To some interviewees, critical research is what makes the difference between university and industry. Institutional, political and ideological independence is portrayed as the key difference between the production of knowledge in universities and the industry.

Hugo described:

There is a difference between the industry and university. When I was working in the industry, I could not talk about some themes, but at the university I can talk freely about whatever I want. When I was working in press media, I wanted to do a profile on the Legionaries of Christ. I tried a couple of times, but they did not let me. One day they told me, please do not insist anymore. You will never do a profile on the Legionaries of Christ, but when I arrived at the university the first thing that I did was write a book about the Legionaries of Christ.

Full-time teachers see this independence as a status that allows them to have a horizontal power relationship with the industry. Paola described it as “a relationship as equals”, as a way to keep “an institutional dignity.”

Paola noted:

The relationship with the industry is difficult because we are very critical of them. Our research generally shows their weak points. We do critical research, so the relationship is not easy, but they look at us with enough respect, as equals. There are journalism schools that do research that seem to be more like Public Relations, and somehow they end up as employees of the industry. So we still maintain an institutional dignity but it has a cost.

Anna and Paolo are the only two full-time teachers who are critical of academic freedom. Although they agree that this freedom of production is beneficial, they think it has not been used to influence cultural changes within the industry, such as gender.

Paolo exemplified this relationship and explained why change had not occurred:

In my opinion, what I do is not very oriented to having a discussion with the industry. [...] I think this is a transition that we have not made. [...] I will tell you in a very harsh way, we do contents studies and representation of media studies. It is what we all do, but we have not been able to jump and translate this to a more complex proposal of change and dialogue with the journalism industry.

Journalists and part-time teachers consider the production of research from academia as confrontational towards the industry.

Jose as a journalist noted:

Universities are very critical of television because they are external to this world. Universities are always thinking about how things should be, but it does not allow you to see how the system really operates. Generally there is a suspicion that all things are made with an intention. However most of the mistakes made in the news are factual errors, not because there is a systematic policy to induce error. One time there was a tremendous criticism because a Mapuche (indigenous person) was on screen with a hoody and the interpretation from academics was that there was a hidden agenda. And to be honest, it was an error, a stupid error made by a guy that did not realise it. In any case, was it the intention to say that Mapuches were terrorists? So academics did read it in their research as an intentional representation, but it was not. It was an error.

Journalists and part-time teachers consider this tension to be endemic. The main reason behind the conflict is, as Jose pointed out, “a basic mistrust from academia towards the industry”, which is based on the assumption that the industry always has a hidden political agenda. Senior full-time teachers who have lived through the dictatorship are the most critical of the industry and its practices.

## **Knowledge exchange between universities and the industry**

The use of academic knowledge in the media is another possible basis for a relationship between universities and the media industry. The industry can use academic research to feed news, articles or opinion pieces.

According to full-time teachers, there are three main manifestations of academic knowledge in the media.

The first manifestation of knowledge occurs where journalists asked teachers to participate as key informants in interviews and provide opinion or data. In this case, full-time teachers are used as authoritative sources. This type of relationship is established by journalists who know or had a previous working relationship with certain academics, or who had contacted an academic through an expert directory offered by university media offices.

Peter pointed out:

In certain circumstances, such as the student conflict last year, journalists run to ask an academic. They want data and a valid source. They look for an expert because there is a format in media, especially in television, where the construction of the news is done by three elements: the victim, an expert and the aggressor, so they need to have testimonies, human cases and the expert to confirm or explain what happened. For this type of thing journalists come to us. Personally I have the policy of only giving interviews if the journalist is an ex-student. Why? Because I know how things are done within the industry. Because, if not, they take you out of the classroom and they start interviewing you for 20 minutes but then they edit and they take two sensational phrases and that is it [...] So they take for example, a sentence such as 'profit is killing education', ahh, and they say it is what the expert said, and it was not what you want to say. So I give the interview to students that I know. Plus, generally they want the interview the same day that they need it [...] generally I do the interviews by phone so it goes on the air straight away. I try to avoid recorded interviews because, if not, they can twist what you are saying and you feel that you have been used. The worst thing is when you appear to be saying

something that is the opposite of what you wanted. Generally they cut and use just the phrase that you said as an irony.

It was not possible to obtain current data regarding the proportion of female and male teachers interviewed by journalists as experts. However, a study by the Chilean National Television Council into television coverage of the 2010 earthquake showed that 79 per cent of the experts interviewed were male and 21 per cent female. By contrast, those affected and shown as victims were 46 per cent female versus 54 per cent male. The study noted that the media often ignores women as leaders, preferring to portray them as victims.

Most of the universities analysed require full-time teachers to make themselves available to the media to be interviewed as experts, even though the university is aware that journalists may quote teachers' interviews out of context. The privatised higher education market and the need for promotion dictates that universities favour visibility and the appearance of "expert information" to win public legitimacy and gain market position. This relationship is seen as win-win for the institution and media, but not necessarily from the academic point of view.

The second manifestation of academic knowledge in the media occurs when academics are authors of features, columns or opinion pieces. Here, newspapers ask the academic or the university media officer to write about the result of a research project or about a social issue, such as freedom of speech. Currently, this type of relationship is very rare. According to Peter, this type of relationship was very common during the '60s and '70s when universities and civil society were much closer.

Paolo illustrated:

I think, during the '60s and '70s, it was more common that studies were published in the media. It could be for political reasons but it does not matter. I remember a famous study done by Mattelart about the *El Mercurio*. It appeared in several newspapers and Sunday supplements as a big thing. It was aimed at a wide audience. This is very rare today. If there is publication of an academic study, they show the most sensational part, only silly things.

The third manifestation of knowledge is based on personal relationships between journalists and teachers. Here the product of teachers is used by the media because a journalist knows a certain academic that wants to help to promote his or her works, such as a book or study. This is an informal relationship.

Paolo pointed out:

The last book that I published, I did not do anything to promote it. But one day I found a review in the newspaper. It happened because someone who knows me, an ex-student said, aaaah I will write about my teacher. The truth is that just because your ex-student works in the media does not mean we have a strong link with the media. We have contact with some ex-students, but this is very rare. The industry does not expect that knowledge to come from the university. They are not interested.

None of the interviewees mentioned a specific relationship or exchange of knowledge within the industry related to gender. However, an example is an article from a newspaper, *Las Ultimas Noticias* from 22 December 2014, which promoted research by sociologist Silvia La Madrid, about the first five years of the magazine called *Seminario* from the '60s. The newspaper declared the aim of the research was “to analyse the feminine model that the magazine promoted.”

### **Exchange of specialist skills**

Another marginal relationship between universities and the industry is the relationship based on continuous learning. In this type of relationship, universities provide workshops to improve specific skills or update knowledge in specific areas. As Paola illustrated: “We have something like workshops that are focused on journalists. The contents of the workshops are related to social networks, social media management and digital culture. In the study, no private university established this type of relationship. There was no mention that gender workshops have been done, even though, as Rebecca pointed out, “there is a recognition of the sexism that the industry in general promotes.”

### **Academia as regulator**

Academics in this relationship, through their work or through declaration, denounce practices of the industry that they perceive to be abusive. Teachers generate this type of relationship as a group of intellectuals rather than as individuals. Radical teachers or teachers who are part of the union are especially part of this type of relationship.

Maria, an experienced teacher and journalist, a declared feminist and member of the Journalists' Professional Society, noted that academics need to help denounce bad practices, to regulate the industry and its discriminatory practices, especially related to gender issues.

Maria:

We presented to the tribunal an allegation last year. We claimed the vexatious treatment of Camila Vallejo as a student leader. There was an edition with a front-page title, 'Camila refused to move her bum'. The article was written because on Sunday there had been a big protest about public education [...] and at some point when she was giving her speech, someone in the audience shouted, 'Camila, move your bum!'. However, this was an isolated incident. The newspaper dedicated the front page and a couple of other pages to discussing why Camila refused to move her bum. The newspaper did not mention anything about what was really happening or about her role in it. We thought that it was harmful and a group of academics and I sent a petition to the ethics tribunal to obtain a sanction of the industry and of the journalist involved in it. However the only institution that answered was The Journalists' Professional Society. They charged the director of the newspaper and the journalist who wrote the article, but as they were not members of the Journalists' Professional Society, they did not present to the tribunal. They did not answer. Basically they did not go. And the sanction of the school remained a sanction in the air. And the industry did not even answer our letter.

This is the only explicit example relating to gender that a teacher described in all the interviews. Gender, as so often in this study, is apparently rendered invisible.



## **Limitations**

The study faced two main limitations. First, in acquiring the Curriculum and the units of study online from the four universities, as mentioned in the Methodology. Access was difficult due to the lack of systematisation and poor storage by the universities. Some of the oldest curriculums were not possible to get. Likewise, it was very difficult to obtain current data related to the status and income of teachers. Future research in this area needs to rethink the strategy of data collection. Only one university had all the units systematised online.

Second, it is acknowledged that although the findings of this study are relevant to the field of education, gender and journalism education, the fact that it focused only on the case of Chile limited the generalizability of the findings. Likewise, conceding that the study looks at metropolitan universities and not rural universities, the findings of this research open doors for further investigation in other contexts such as rural areas. However, while this study focused on the production of gender knowledge in journalism education in Chile, it hopefully triggered interest in examining journalism education and production of gender knowledge more broadly in Chile, Latin America and beyond, particularly from a comparative perspective.

## Chapter 7: Conclusions

This thesis investigated production and circulation of gender knowledge in a multi-level analysis that incorporated individuals, universities and public arenas and policies. This revealed the complexity of the construction and production of knowledge, and recognised the significance of teachers as intellectual agents in the construction and circulation of gender knowledge.

Although this research is set within a specific context, contemporary Chile, it is also concerned with questions of theory, especially connections among gender relations, cultural institutions and the practice of teachers. At the core of this study was the belief that gender relations are dynamic and permeate social practice and individual experience. The production and circulation of knowledge are not separate from gender relations.

The thesis shows three key elements that interweave in the production and circulation of gender knowledge. First, gender relations; second, the structure of the production of knowledge; and finally, the relationship with the mass media industry.

First, gender relations. As argued in the literature review, most of the debates within journalism education and gender rest on a categorical perspective of gender, which ignores the complexity of gender as a social structure. The issues that emerged concern all four dimensions of gender (Connell & Pearse, 2015).

### 1) Gender Division of Labour:

There is a powerful presence of a gender division of labour. The study reveals at least five different forms of gender division within journalism education:

- Work distribution
- Teaching and journalist positions
- Student composition
- Production of knowledge
- Organisational hierarchy

Work distribution: The design of the labour process within journalism education and the practice of journalism is divided by sex. There are multiple practices that maintain

a gender division, such as teaching practices. Journalist practices are also segregated in terms of the social space. Practices that involve public spaces, such as the 'cameraman', are done by men while practices involving private spaces, such as administrative duties, are done by women. Women appear to have more administrative responsibilities than men, particularly in terms of teaching organisation. These results were also found by Mumby and Stohl (1991) in other fields of research, such as in organisational research. They argued that: "the incorporation of women in work places has not created a new relationship between men and women, but rather reproduces a gender relationship which was previously confined to the private sphere. There is an ideological construction that bifurcates the domestic and administrative spheres" (p. 328).

Teaching and journalist positions: there is a predominance of full-time and part-time male teachers in senior positions. Also, there is a predominance of men with a postgraduate qualification (see Chapter 4). The exception is at the University of Chile, with holders of doctoral degrees. Morley (2001) in UK also found that women academics are in more precarious and junior positions in the academia.

In the case of the traditional media industry, the predominance of men is apparently higher. Although this research did not obtain quantitative data of employment, the narrative of people interviewed confirms previous research by MINEDUC (2012) and Mellado, Salinas, Del-Valle and González (2010). This is similar to what is described by Lowe (2004) in the South African case.

Student composition: Female students constitute the majority of enrolments and *egresos* [graduates] within journalism education. As Godward (2006) and Densem (2006) found in the case of Australia; and Golombisky (2008) in the United States, female students are predominant in journalism education courses.

Design of the production of knowledge: There is a clear pattern where the relations of the division of work and the production of knowledge are very categorised. Women tend to have more interest in social issues and therefore in research related to social issues, which include the production of gender knowledge.

Organisational hierarchy: Few women have positions of authority within the media industry and within the university structure. Most of the women who attain a position

of power seem to be part of the elite (see Chapters 5, 6). In this sense, the division of labour is not only in relation to gender but also to class, which appears as a particularly strong Chilean phenomenon (Madrid, 2013).

Although private and public universities display a hierarchical authority, this appears to be stronger within private universities. Power relations also emerged in terms of teaching positions. There is a clear pattern showing that men do not have difficulties in attaining a teaching or senior position, whereas women appear to require a “godfather” figure, or someone in a position of power to be able to move up within the institution. As Lennon and Whitford argue, this type of power relation suggests “that the legitimisation of knowledge is tied to networks of dominations and exclusion” (as cited in Morley, 1999, p. 3). There is a clear pattern that the management and organisation of knowledge have been dominated by men within journalism education. This pattern has also been identified by Kerfoot and Knights (1993); Collinson and Hearn (1998); and Brooks (2001). Morley (2006) also confirmed this patterns in other disciplines such as science and mathematics in countries such as South Africa, Sri Lanka, Nigeria, Tanzania and Uganda.

Even though it is possible to identify changes in the model of education and in management practices, there is almost no change in the gender order of journalism education degrees. As Yancey-Martin (1996, p.22) recognises, “hegemonic masculinities continue to dominate the structure and the practice of work organization”. Kulke (cited in Morley, 1999) also argues that “the equality discourse of modern times in general has not fundamentally altered the gender hierarchy, because concepts of equity and gender differences have been formulated and constrained by the norm of patriarchal rationality within which they are embedded” (p. 39).

## 2) Gender Relations of Power:

The transformation within tertiary education and the media industry has led to universities operating in similar ways to corporations. This has meant a change in teacher hiring practices, especially a rising number of non-permanent teachers. This situation is a key element in the weakness of research production and the poor disposition of people to research. In the case of gender, the repercussion is important in that it reduces the production of knowledge to a minimum. This situation has also

been identified in the empirical research done by Acker and Webber (2006) that identified a similar phenomenon in the global north, including the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom.

Emmanuel's case is an example of how the structure of authority is a crucial feature affecting gender knowledge. The subjectivity of the authority mediates in the capacity of the institution to change its gender dynamics and therefore the regime of the institution. Some authors have described this as political willingness to include gender equality (Jacoba, Xhelo & Wittberger, 2012; Linares & Schulze, 2015).

Authorities in public universities appear to be less ideologically driven about gender. It could also be argued that public universities respond to public policies addressing an equity agenda. Private universities are free to follow their own policies.

### 3) Emotions and human relations:

Emotions and human relations play a crucial role in the production of gender knowledge. Emotional relationships were observed in the development and non-development of intellectual work. The analysis suggests that emotions are a component of intellectual labour aside from the ideological and political components. As Jaggar (1992, p. 161) pointed out, emotions “provide a political motivation for investigation [...] the feedback loop between our emotional constitution and our theorizing is continuous; each continually modifies the other [...]”

In this study, emotions are revealed in two antagonistic patterns: a) a motor of the production of gender knowledge; and b) as resistance toward the production of gender knowledge and gender as an issue.

a) All of the interviewees who showed an interest in the production of gender knowledge had a positive feeling towards gender issues, which included a sense of justice and hope that seems to be the motor of their intellectual production. Deeper analysis suggests that these emotions are products of significant relationships, that there is a pattern in which relational histories always involve a significant other, such as a mother or a teacher. These relationships “stamped” these emotions, which are the key to their practice of intellectual labour (see Chapters 3, 6). This result is important

because it shows that the practice of education is embedded in emotions that could influence changes in gender dynamics.

b) Resistance towards the production of gender knowledge appears as a specific mechanism that operates on two different levels: personal trajectory and trajectory of work (see Chapter 6). It includes feelings, such as anger and frustration, but also includes theorisation, intellectualisation of gender and pedagogical practices. Both female and male journalists and teachers use theorisation and intellectualisation to justify their opposition towards gender issues. Theorisation and intellectualisation act as a defence mechanism to deny any possibility of connecting gender to practice. These findings are also confirmed by Morley (2006), who discovered that teachers in mathematics and science do not see gender as part of the pedagogical process.

Most of the analysis of gender from teachers and journalists focused on the factual content of gender rather than on a pedagogical process, which also includes what Morley (1999) called the micropolitics of the organisation, that could be read as “a subtext of organisational life in which conflicts, tensions, resentments, competing interests and power imbalances influence everyday transactions in institutions” (Morley, 1999, p. 4);

#### 4) Gender Culture and Symbolism:

Meritocracy and jokes emerged as symbolic elements that colour gender relations and conception within the culture of journalism education (see Chapters 4, 5, 6). Gendered jokes appear only in male interviews, which suggests that gendered jokes are part of the construction of masculinity. The sexualisation of language and the symbolic elements in jokes are discussed and confirmed in a specialised literature (Gherardi, 1995; Madrid, 2013).

The idea of meritocracy is used by full-time and part-time teachers from private universities, and the younger generation of teachers from public universities, to refer to a new class of people who have attained their positions by endeavour and not by sexual attributes, positive discrimination or affirmative action. Meritocracy is assumed to reflect cultural neutrality of practice and achievement. It symbolises equal practice and power relations. The idea of meritocracy creates an illusion of a non-gendered institution, denying gendered relations of power within journalism education

institutions. It thus tends to reinforce a gender regime that reproduces hegemonic gender relations and practices.

There are clear patterns of practice that create a symbolic structure, which either denies, or justifies, between segregated occupations, access to power.

The structure of the production of knowledge is a second element identified as a key component in the production and circulation of gender knowledge. Gender knowledge is always produced through a continuous negotiation within the existing structure of knowledge production. There is no production of gender knowledge unless a teacher or a staff member of the journalism school is interested in it. The findings suggest the importance of personal interest, linked both to subjective emotions and to ideological and political position. Knowledge is always generated in social relationships that are set in a gender dynamic. As Moore says in Rata (2012), knowledge is organised through distinctive modes of production, and this also applies in the case of gender knowledge.

Public and private universities (see Chapter 4) differ in terms of the process of production and the facilities that the institutions have to generate gender knowledge. Some priorities that are seen as an obstacle for knowledge production in public universities, such as ranking, ironically become an advantage at private universities, to generate knowledge.

The focus of journalism education in general has changed from a humanistic desire for knowledge to a focus by institutions on producing individuals able to respond to the market. Private and public universities are both now imagined from a neoliberal model of education and a professional approach is a common trend. It is possible to distinguish two educational models depending on the nature of knowledge and the type of ownership.

Public universities tend to focus their production on disciplinary knowledge or more abstract conceptual knowledge. At public universities there is a weak but more organised community of knowledge producers seeking a more disciplinary knowledge, although there is now an inclination to generate increasingly practical knowledge. In contrast, private universities tend to generate and circulate vocational

or procedural knowledge that is centred on practice, and there is almost no community of knowledge producers.

The evidence suggests that these two models generate a segregation of knowledge within journalism education that not only impacts on the acquisition of knowledge, but also on the production of knowledge and the practice of journalism, especially in the type of opportunities for students within the labour market. Wheelahan (2010) found similar results in other areas of education.

Gender knowledge is produced within this context. In universities that deliver more disciplinary knowledge or more abstract conceptual knowledge, the generation of knowledge will occur with a more diverse set of academic and social demands. Gender knowledge is present, though not conspicuous in this set. Universities with a more vocational orientation are likely to produce and circulate no gender knowledge (see Chapter 4).

In all the universities examined, intellectual labour is defined by commercial considerations but also by the institutional culture of the university. However, the study shows that the need to survive has pushed universities to generate and display their curriculum in ways that take into account the agenda of the market. Paradoxically, it is the market that has maintained the production and circulation of knowledge as an ongoing process. The need of the universities to be part of the educational market obligates universities to generate knowledge. National and international rankings, and the opportunity to obtain research funding, has placed pressure on private universities to produce knowledge.

The labour market for journalists created by the media industry seems to be aware that students will accept the implicit subordination that the industry establishes in terms of culture and values, due to students' need to become part of the workforce. What is important is that this implicit subordination provokes a homogenisation of intellectual identities through the annulment of the histories and ideological positions of the students and journalists in general.

There are political, ideological and strategic risks in conceiving of journalism education as an educational market rather than as an education of journalists. Firstly, there is a political risk in terms of educating people to answer mainly to the agenda of



the market and not the educational and disciplinary agenda. This may lead to the promotion of universities as an extension of the market of the communication industry, with universities losing the autonomy of social practice to organise knowledge.

Secondly, there is also an ideological risk in universities focusing on the media industry to develop their knowledge, which provokes a legitimisation of the conditions of the production in the industry. In this respect universities could be trapped in a double game, in which, on one hand, the mass media industry is researched and criticised by universities and on the other hand, universities reproduce the dynamics of the industry.

Thirdly, there is a strategic risk related to what universities think are the needs of the market. Analysis of the curricula suggests that there is a distance between content in the industry and content in journalism education. Universities may advocate vocational education without actually being effective at it.

The last element identified as relevant in the production and circulation of gender knowledge is the relationship with the industry and the transfer of knowledge. As the study showed, there is almost no transfer of gender knowledge. The demand for this type of knowledge from the industry is not relevant at all. All the universities have some transfer of knowledge in relation to the industry (see Chapter 6). However it is not a transfer of knowledge related to gender. The main transfer of knowledge is based on labour exchange, which is done via student internships and journalists who became incorporated as teachers within the university work force.

Research plays a minimal role in the relationship between the industry and universities. However, there are different perceptions of this relationship, depending on the type of teacher. Part-time teachers described this relationship as confrontational. Knowledge that is critical of the industry and its practices, to them, does not contribute to the relationship with the industry. In contrast, most full-time teachers saw research as necessarily critical. It has to be independent of the industry. For full-time teachers, research works more as a watchdog of the industry rather than as a transfer of knowledge to it. This finding is relevant because if the industry is not interested in the generation of gender knowledge in journalism education there is no incentive to produce this type of knowledge from academia. The lack of gender

production affects not only the disciplinary field but also affects the fluidity and possible shift of the gender regime.

In Chile, the evidence indicated that there is a fundamental shift in thinking about gender knowledge and the industry, in particular, a rethinking of the relationships between academics and the industry in the production of gender knowledge.

Overall, the study showed that production and circulation of knowledge is a cultural phenomenon that goes across the spectrum of teaching practices, journalism, research and mass media practices.

The production of knowledge and specially the production of gender knowledge is an intellectual activity that involves the complexity of the structure of the university that includes the division of labour, gender relations of power emotions and human relations and gender, culture and symbolism. The role of the emotions is a key element in the production as well as the resistance towards gender knowledge and gender itself.

To improve the production of gender knowledge we need a notion of gender in terms of dimension. If we continue thinking of gender from a dichotomy perspective, then the gender order and its dynamics will not change. Academics need to be aware that just because there is a lack of content of gender there is not a lack of gender. As I said before, sometimes in the absence of things, one becomes conscious of a presence that one may have overlooked. This is exactly what happens with the production of gender knowledge.

### **Sociological insights**

One of the main observations in this study is the absence of the production and circulation of formal gender knowledge. Although Chile has very sexualised mass media content, within the curricula of journalism education, there is not a single unit identifiable by the word gender, feminism, masculinity or women. What the data reveals is a minimal quantity of explicit content about gender within units of journalism education study. Of the 222 units of study reviewed, only five had some gender content. This finding is similar to what North (2010, p. 108) found in the journalism education curricula in Australia, where, “Of the 30 Australian universities

which offer journalism as an undergraduate degree or major, none includes a specific gender unit identifiable by the word “gender” or “feminism” or “women” in the title.

This study’s analysis of curriculum and teacher/journalist practices, (see Chapters 4, 5), has shown the dislocation of theoretical and disciplinary knowledge and the systemic marginalisation of gender knowledge within journalism education. The historical analysis shows that this lack is longstanding.

The absence of gender knowledge also appears in the narrative of the interviews. Although the respondents knew that the interviewer was focused on the production of gender knowledge, most did not explicitly discuss it. In this respect, my work faced an intellectual problem: the absence.

The absence appears as a structure that organises practices and relations of gender, which generates a specific gender order that involves specific power relations. In the case of journalism education, results suggest that masculinity works as a hegemonic power that makes gender knowledge appear as a system of absence. From this perspective, the absence of gender knowledge can be understood as a feature of hegemonic power that paradoxically appears as the hegemonic voice that generates a gender meaning system within universities. The absence of gender knowledge also reveals how practices and discourses become a material instance to generate resistance in the production and reproduction of gender knowledge and perpetuate social relations based on a hegemonic masculinity.

Thus, there is not an absence of gender within the curriculum. There is a hegemonic presence of masculinity. If we think of gender from a dimensional and critical perspective, then the curriculum and the narrative of the interviewees does not show a lack of gender content or an absence of gender. On the contrary, what the curriculum of each university shows is the gender regime of each institution. In this sense, institutions operate in a gendered context that involves every practice and decisions that people are taking, including the selection of content. In the case of journalism education, the gender regime appears highly masculinised. What is found within the curricula is gendered imbalance of capacity to generate knowledge.

This analysis sets new challenges. The richness of the science is the capacity and the tenacity of the intellectual to explore further than their own field. The risk is higher

but the reward is transcendent. Unquestionably sociological insight presents more questions than answers. Such questions include: How is power conserved within journalism education? How is gender knowledge managed within the industry?

## **Methodological insights**

### **Interviewing intellectuals**

The systemic absence of gender in journalism education is not only a challenge to the conception of absence in terms of gender but also in terms of methodology. Some of the authors who have written about absence in methodological terms have done so in terms of what the researchers do not look at or pay attention to i.e. potential missing elements (Gervais, Morant and Penn, 1999). But what if it is not the researcher who generates (intentionally or not) these missing elements? What if there is a collective absence of gender that the interviewer must unpack?

These methodological issues reflect the usefulness of the life history method to unpack the absence of gender in the narratives of intellectuals. Through life histories, the narratives of the interviewees rebuild a social phenomenon through experiential subjective elements. These subjective elements reflect social dynamics, providing experiential and explanatory elements. Thus each life history in this research becomes an opportunity to unpack the absence of gender within the narrative of the interviewees.

Interviewing intellectuals, especially academics, was a challenge for this research. The process of interviewing started from the moment that I contacted my interviewees. I followed the recommendation of Taylor and Bogdan (1984), explaining the aims of the study, establishing a framework for each interview, informing them about the themes that would be covered during the interview, the ethical requirements, the freedom to leave at any time during the interview, and the confidentiality of the study. Although this explanation was given before we met and again at the interview, the anxiety of some of the interviewees about a discussion of gender was remarkable. Many of them, before starting the interview, recognised their lack of knowledge on the subject and even apologised for it. However, throughout the interview they were able to connect themselves with their own life trajectory and thus provide a rich interview.

The approach taken in the study set aside the stirring, but unresolvable debates about the true nature of the intellectual. As Connell and Crawford (2007, p 188) have pointed out:

Intellectuals are considered as people who do a certain kind of work and thus perform [...] the work is to produce, circulate and apply organised knowledge and other specialised cultural materials [...], whether or not this is socially recognised by a label such as intellectual.

The relationship with the interviewer fell into two main types: one marked by acknowledgement of my professional expertise in the subject, and another marked by a patronising and minimising attitude to me. There were moments when a power imbalance appeared during some of the interviews, especially those where a male teacher did not have a vast knowledge of the theme.

The first distinctive experience in terms of power was when the interviewee began to interview me. It was very common that the interviewees asked me about my private life and my interest in the subject. In the case of some male teachers/journalists and one female teacher, the question of “why gender?” was acute to criticise the topic and to mention that they did not know much about the subject and they were not interested in it.

Second, it was remarkable how the topic – independent of the interviewer’s intention – established a certain type of dynamic that revealed instantaneously the configuration and conception of gender that the interviewee established in their personal and intellectual life. Although all the interviewees were there because they had accepted being interviewed on the subject of gender, the majority avoided answering questions about gender, or changed the subject or rejected the importance of talking about it.

The fact that I was doing a gender study, it is clear, did generate resistance. Three teachers defined the study as not serious and not relevant for journalism education. Giving these opinions, they very clearly exposed their gender ideology. The three respondents presented a well-established pattern of hegemonic masculinity, in this institutional context, marked by over-intellectualisation.

The rejection of gender issues by some teachers and journalists was sometimes so strong that I saw myself rejecting my own research during the interview and even during my writing, trying to explore social issues other than my topic. There was transference from the interviewee to the interviewer, questioning whether or not gender is in fact a field of knowledge.

Almost all the interviewees positioned themselves first as journalists. In the case of the journalists who were full-time teachers, only three positioned themselves first as academics. Where people placed themselves influenced their narrative during the interview. This positionality was not fixed, especially when people talked about their past: they might position themselves as student, child, daughter or son. The ability to transition from one position to another, but keeping a coherence and trajectory that reflected historical and social events, was a characteristic of all the interviewees.

Some of the interviews with intellectuals in higher positions and journalists in managerial positions have particular characteristics. The contradictions in their narratives were very strong, especially related to what Connell and Crawford (2007) called the “conflicts between the logics of action”, where institutional ideologies that should be embedded in the role that the person represents are in tension with their personal views on the subject.

In my role of interviewer, it was interesting to observe the relationship that people established with the notion of professional qualification. Although my training is in psychology, the interviewees assumed from the beginning that I was a journalist because it was my topic of interest. Most of them treated me as an insider. Comments such as, “as you know, in our field” or “as you saw in the degree”, were common. However, whenever someone asked me about my degree and I told them that I was a psychologist, the relationship changed almost immediately, even though I did not change the interview. Some tended to talk more intimately about their life, while others appeared to become more guarded about their behaviour. The stereotyping of the role of psychologist seems to play an important role, locating the interview in a more vulnerable position.

Each interview was unique, however some common dynamics were observed. The task of constructing life history was affected by the interviewee. Most of the

interviewees used the intellectualisation of the subject as a way to approach every question.

Some academic males who explicitly pointed out that gender was a women's issue, established a certain type of competition for intellectual power, which also involved minimisation of me. Most of the interviewees who fell into this dynamic also tended to talk about their academic achievements; to defend their position and demonstrate that they were correct in their analysis. Phrases such as: I was member of xxx, or I have x years of experience in the field, were very common. However, some interviewees also used intellectualisation as a way to construct a common narrative between the researcher and themselves. The process of interviewing was also, for them, a process of producing knowledge, especially in the case of the four academics who have worked in the field.

There were two aspects of the intellectualisation that caught my attention. The first was that interviewees from the generation over 40 tended to use their intellectual position to analyse their political militancy and avoid some themes that they did not want to talk about, specifically events related to their personal life. The tendency to intellectualise even their trajectory of life demonstrated the resistance to talking about certain issues. Most of these interviewees talked about their achievements in their field; most were male interviewees but this pattern also appeared with one female interviewee.

The second aspect was the use of intellectualisation to justify emotions. Most of the male interviewees tended to explain academically why they were bothered or angry about positive discrimination, for example.

Interviewing intellectuals was challenging, especially in terms of articulating different levels of analysis: the subjective, interactional and macro/global. As a way to construct a narrative of life, interviewees demanded that the researcher look at the interviews from a meta-analysis perspective, as well as looking at explicit content. The main challenge was to decipher the configuration of practice beyond the intellectualisation of practice. This meant examining the interview as a social analysis rather than a psychological one.

In these terms, life history is an excellent method to approach intellectuals. One of the main impetuses for using life history as a method is that, during the process of interviewing, an individual's life history provides experiential elements that allow us to deal with the "intersectionality" of social dynamics such as race, gender, and class (Crenshaw, 1991). It also provides the methodological space to deal with power issues. Life history helps us unpack how these categories shape both individual experience and the social world on a larger scale.

Life history unfolds trajectories where social dynamics are not experienced by the interviewees separately. Therefore their narratives permit the researcher to see life histories "as a project, as a patterns of agency" (Connell, 2010, p.68), which allows an approach to the configuration of social practice. It is possible to see how the social context is intertwined with everyday life, the political and ideological conceptions that bring not only a generational but also a historical perspective. The exercise of writing life histories of intellectuals allowed me to look at the different levels of complexity mixed in the narrative of the interviewees, especially the ambiguities and contradictions that are played out in everyday experience.



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# Appendices

## I. How to do a good life history interview.

Some authors, such as Plummer (2001), give an important description about how to do a good life history. A theoretical analysis of life history is beyond the scope of this thesis. My intention is to identify at least 12 points to be considered when interviewing intellectuals about gender.

- Life histories should bring elements relevant to the research that understands interviews as a historical construction. Through it we can see the particular trajectories within different institutional and historical contexts. A biographic approach and particularly life histories offers ‘a dual focus on history: into a concern with time life in the life [...]; and within outside the life – of how historical moments plays its role in any life’s shape’ (Plummer, 2001, p39). Thus it is possible to see how the narratives of the interviewees are intersecting by common elements.
- There are not only individual narratives but also a common narrative, which permits us to view the intersection of an individual life history as a history of a society. Look at individual and common narratives are relevant to understand the dynamic of gender in a broad spectrum.
- There are personal depositions and specific interview techniques and set frame that the research could use when interviewing.
- Do not compete with your interviewee in terms of knowledge. It is important to keep a distance and do not answer or react to opinion or theorizations that the interviewee makes.
- Have an adequate level of theory, but do not talk about it. The aim is to understand your interviewee in depth.
- Be alert and pay attention to what the interviewee says and does not say.
- Let the interviewee talk as long as it can.
- Encourage your interviewee to describe rather than to analyse. This is difficult because intellectuals tend to theorise. If the interviewee theorises again, as soon as you can, ask for his/her personal experience.

- Focus on practical and relational aspects of the interviewee's personal life and work will allow the researcher to approach the complexities of gender relation.
- Do not ask long questions.
- When approached to talk about gender, do not ask from a difference gender framework, rather approach from a gender dimension. A dimensional approach allows us to read the un-written text and look at the practices and the text itself.
- Take into account the actual situation of the interviewee in terms of the current institutional structure where he/she works and the possible tensions that he/she could confront.

During the interview these points should be treated spontaneously and should be observed independently but also interdependently.

## II. Participant information statement



Faculty of Education and Social  
Work

ABN 15 211 513 464

**Raewyn Connell, PhD**  
**University Professor**

Room 554  
Building A35  
The University of Sydney  
NSW 2006 AUSTRALIA  
Telephone: +61 2 9351 6247  
Facsimile: +61 2 9351 4580  
Email: [raewyn.connell@sydney.edu.au](mailto:raewyn.connell@sydney.edu.au)  
Web: <http://www.usyd.edu.au>

### PARTICIPANT INFORMATION STATEMENT JOURNALISTS

#### (1) What is the study about?

This research explores the production and circulation of gender knowledge in journalism education and explores its connection with the production and circulation of gender knowledge in journalism practice in media corporations through empirical research.

#### (2) Who is carrying out the study?

The study is being conducted by Claudia Lucia Alarcón Espinoza and will form the basis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at The University of Sydney under the supervision of University Professor Raewyn Connell, PhD.

#### (3) What does the study involve?

The study will include 32 interviews to professionals in media and journalism education.

The study will be located in universities and mass media organizations.

Each interview will last about an hour or up to 90 minutes, and will cover the following topics:

##### Journalists:

- Describing journalism education and journalism, similarities and differences
- Structure of mass media organisation.
- Contents in the news
- Professional world of journalism education and research

- Key changes in journalism education and journalism
- Relation between curricula contents and journalism practice

The study does not involve any risks to which the participant might be exposed if it is decided to take part.

**(4) How much time will the study take?**

The interview component of the study will take between 60 to 90 minutes each. The field research will take between 2-3 months, and the study as a whole will be finished in July 2014.

**(5) Can I withdraw from the study?**

Being in this study is completely voluntary - you are not under any obligation to consent and - if you do consent - you can withdraw at any time without affecting your relationship with The University of Sydney.

You may stop the interview at any time if you do not wish to continue, the audio recording will be erased and the information provided will not be included in the study and the material provided will be removed and destroyed.

**(6) Will anyone else know the results?**

All aspects of the study will be strictly confidential and only the researchers will have access to information on participants. A report of the results will be submitted for publication, but individual participants will not be identifiable in such a report. Confidentiality will be maintained *unless as required by law*.

**(7) Will the study benefit me?**

The interview does not have any personal benefit to the participant, however we believe that the research will contribute to the advancement of knowledge in gender, higher education and the mass media industry. The study will provide new knowledge about Chile, significant not only for that country, but also for Latin America. Internationally, it opens a new topic in research on journalism education.

**(8) Can I tell other people about the study?**

Yes, you can. We appreciate your help identifying other possible participants in the research.

**(9) What if I require further information?**

When you have read this information, Claudia Alarcón Espinoza, will discuss it with you further and answer any questions you may have. If you would like to know more at any stage, please feel free to contact: Claudia Alarcón Espinoza, PhD Candidate, The University of Sydney [cala4120@uni.sydney.edu.au](mailto:cala4120@uni.sydney.edu.au) or Raewyn Connell, Supervisor, The University of Sydney [raewyn.connell@sydney.edu.au](mailto:raewyn.connell@sydney.edu.au)

**(10) What if I have a complaint or concerns?**

**Any person with concerns or complaints about the conduct of a research study can contact The Manager, Human Ethics Administration, University of Sydney on +61 2 8627 8176 (Telephone); +61 2 8627 8177 (Facsimile) or [ro.humanethics@sydney.edu.au](mailto:ro.humanethics@sydney.edu.au) (Email).**

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Email: [raewyn.connell@sydney.edu.au](mailto:raewyn.connell@sydney.edu.au)  
Web: <http://www.usyd.edu.au/>

## **PARTICIPANT INFORMATION STATEMENT KEY INFORMANTS**

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The study will include 32 interviews to professional in media and journalism education.

The study will be located in universities and mass media organizations.

Each interview will last about an hour or up to 90 minutes, and will cover the following topics:

#### Key informants:

- Describing journalism education and journalism, similarities and differences
- Structure of mass media organization.
- Contents in the news
- Professional world of journalism education and research
- Key changes in journalism education and journalism
- Relation between curricula contents and journalism practice

The study does not involve any risks to which the participant might be exposed if it is decided to take part.

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**(5) Can I withdraw from the study?**

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All aspects of the study will be strictly confidential and only the researchers will have access to information on participants. A report of the results will be submitted for publication, but individual participants will not be identifiable in such a report. Confidentiality will be maintained *unless as required by law*.

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## **PARTICIPANT INFORMATION STATEMENT TEACHERS**

### **(1) What is the study about?**

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### **(3) What does the study involve?**

The study will include 32 interviews to professional in media and journalism education.

The study will be located in universities and mass media organisations.

Each interview will last about an hour or up to 90 minutes, and will cover the following topics:

#### Teachers:

- Describing journalism education
- Curricula and courses structure in journalism education
- Professional world of journalism education and research
- Key changes in journalism education
- Relation between curricula contents and journalism practice

The study does not involve any risks to which the participant might be exposed if it is decided to take part.

**(4) How much time will the study take?**

The interview component of the study will take between 60 to 90 minutes each. The field research will take between 2-3 months, and the study as a whole will be finished in July 2014.

**(5) Can I withdraw from the study?**

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**This information sheet is for you to keep**

### **III. Security Protocol**

#### **Security protocol for the conduct of data collection in Santiago, Chile**

**Project title:** Gender knowledge in journalism education

**Short title:** Gender knowledge in journalism education

**Chief Investigator:** University Professor Raewyn Connell, PhD (supervisor)

**Other personnel involved:** Claudia Alarcón Espinoza (PhD candidate)

#### **Security protocol:**

1. The PhD candidate has significant experience in interview fieldwork and interviewing men and women in different contexts. The candidate has got a Degree in Psychology and a Masters in Social Psychology, was working at the Ministry of Education and was Assistant Director of Educational Television and Research at the Television Council of Chile.

The candidate has worked for the Chilean government for seven years on the topics of sexuality, gender, education and media. Previously she has specifically focused on research at the Council of Television in Chile.

The fact that the researcher has a psychology degree and has worked in research at government level, makes her familiar with security protocols in different contexts. In addition, the researcher is Chilean and therefore is aware of Chilean culture.

2. There is no warning precaution for travel to Chile.
3. The PhD candidate and her supervisor have consulted the guidelines for fieldwork outside Australia provided by The University of Sydney in <http://sydney.edu.au/whs/guidelines/fieldwork/FieldworkOS.shtml>, to prepare this security protocol.
4. Data collection will be undertaken in the major cities of Chile, including Santiago. It is not expected to collect data in rural areas. Any travel to other cities for data collection will be informed and discussed prior with the supervisor. The data collection does not contemplate any zone of risk or conflict.
5. The PhD candidate will be aware of any particular security warnings given by local authorities.
6. The PhD candidate is a Chilean citizen, so no visa is needed.
7. Prior to her trip to Chile the PhD Candidate will provide to her supervisor emergency contact details.

8. In the event that direct contact is needed between the chief investigator and the PhD candidate, contact will be realised by telephone or by a Skype call.
9. The archives that will be consulted are available for public access. Information that is under legal restrictions will not be requested.
10. Interviews will be conducted at a time mutually convenient to the researcher and the participants. The interview will be done where the interviewee prefers. However, taking into account the type of research that is proposed and the professional characteristics of the participants, there is no danger or risk - to the interviewer and the interviewee - that could involve the process of interview. In this context, the place that the participant could recommend or propose to set the interview would be in a professional environment. The PhD candidate is aware of the policy of the Human Ethics Committee that 'research should be conducted in public places'.  
([www.usyd.edu.au/ethics/human/policies/safety\\_protocols.shtml](http://www.usyd.edu.au/ethics/human/policies/safety_protocols.shtml), accessed 25 August 2011)
11. Interviews will be realised with participants who are part of legally recognised organisations and institutions but they will be conducted on an individual basis in spaces chosen by the participants.
12. Interviews will only be conducted by the PhD candidate.
13. Interviews will be conducted during daylight hours.
14. Interviews will be audio-taped with the permission of participants (see ethics application and Participant Information Statement).
15. The PhD candidate will carry a mobile phone while undertaking her trips for data collection. She will carry the University of Sydney identification card and Chilean ID.
16. The PhD candidate will maintain fortnightly e-mail contact with the chief investigator and associate supervisor regarding the progress of the fieldwork. A brief report containing advance and timetables for the next activities will be included in the fortnightly e-mail. Any changes in the work plan will be informed via e-mail as soon as possible. In her periodic communications with her supervisor, the PhD candidate will inform her of any possible security risk that could affect data collection.
17. This safety protocol has been agreed and accepted by the PhD candidate and her supervisor and associate supervisor.

#### IV. Interviewee List

<b>Name</b>	<b>Institution</b>
Ella	Public University
Megan	Public University
Sophia	Public University
Paola	Public University
Paolo	Public University
Peter	Public University
Maria	Public University
Rebecca	Public University
Fernando	Public University
Simona	Public University
Sebastian	Public University
Ian	Public University
Lucia	Private University
Tessa	Private University
Javiera	Private University
Carolina	Private University
Hugo	Private University
Emmanuel	Private University
Jasson	Private University
Laz	Private University
Carlos	Private University
Anna	Private University
Robert	Private University
John	Private University
Susana	Key Informant
Clara	Key Informant
Pedro	Key Informant
Petra	Key Informant
Angel	Journalist
Beatriz	Journalist
Eduardo	Journalist
Enrique	Journalist
Sonia	Journalist
Tomas	Journalist
Jose	Journalist

## **V. Study Questions**

### **Teacher Questions**

1. Respondent's own experience of higher education. Description of career in higher education and elsewhere
2. Current work as a university teacher, daily life, decision-making, sources of information used.
3. Curricula and course structure in journalism education including the presence or absence of gender issues.
4. How courses and curriculum structures are decided in department/faculty or field.
5. Functioning, decision-making and administration of the faculty of journalism education. Relations between administrative process and intellectual process.
6. Who does the teaching in different areas of journalism education; who does research? Gender differences, topics and most researched. Current themes in the field.
7. In what areas of the teaching research program gender issues appear. Changes over time. Current debates on gender issues.
8. Intellectual life within the faculty. Relations with other organisations or the organisations and the industry.
9. The professional world of journalism education and research. How ideas and information circulate in this field. Areas of agreement, issues, and big debates.
10. Key changes in journalism education, as respondent has seen them.

### **Journalist Questions**

1. Respondent's own experience of higher education. Description of career in higher education and elsewhere
2. Current work as a university teacher, daily life, decision-making, sources of information used.
3. What respondent remembers about the curricula and course structure in journalism education including the presence or absence of gender issues. Education policy related to journalism education.



4. Functioning, decision-making and administration of the journalism in mass media organisations. Relation between administrative process and intellectual process.
5. How contents are decided in your job. Similarities and differences to University experience.
6. Who does the teaching in different areas of journalism education; who does research? Gender differences, topics and most researched. Current themes in the field.
7. Areas of the teaching. Gender issues. Changes over time. Debate of gender issues.
8. Intellectual life within the industry. Relation with other organisations and universities.
9. Professional world of journalism education and research. How ideas and information circulate in respondents' field. Areas of agreement, issues, and big debates.
10. Key changes in journalism education, as respondent has seen them.

### **Key Informant Questions**

1. Respondent's own experience of higher education. Description of career in higher education and elsewhere
2. Current work as a university teacher, daily life, decision-making, sources of information used.
3. What respondent remembers about the curricula and course structure in journalism education including the presence or absence of gender issues. Education policy related to journalism education.
4. Functioning, decision-making and administration of the journalism in mass media organisations. Relation between administrative process and intellectual process.
5. How contents are decided in your job. Similarities and differences to University experience.
6. Who does the teaching in different areas of journalism education; who does research? Gender differences, topics and most researched. Current themes in the field.
7. Areas of the teaching. Gender issues. Changes over time. Debate of gender issues.

8. Role of women's movement in journalism education, and in journalism.
9. Intellectual life within the industry. Relation with other organisations and universities.
10. Professional world of journalism education and research. How ideas and information circulate in respondents' field. Areas of agreement, issues, and big debates.
11. Key changes in journalism education, as respondent has seen them.